

Thesis/
Reports
McIntyre,
Norman

Living in the Forest: Meanings and Use of Recreational Residences in US Forest Service Lands

Norman McIntyre
Centre for Parks, Recreation and Tourism Research,
Lakehead University, ON
Canada

Joseph W. Roggenbuck
Department of Forestry, Virginia Tech.
Blacksburg, VA. USA

ABSTRACT: The Forest Service Recreation Residence Program has been operational since the passage of the Occupancy permits Act in 1915. In the initial years the Forest Service actively encouraged summer home occupancy with the view that such occupancy encouraged recreational use and assisted in proper forest management and fire control as well as providing a source of income. Approval of further recreation residence development on public land was discontinued in 1968 as program costs exceeded revenues and the perception that such occupation of public land was elitist and potentially restricted public access to desirable recreation sites. More recently, both the appraisal process and the pursuance of permit violations have become a focus of some political controversy.

The study discussed in this paper examines the use of Recreation Residences and the meanings of such use to a sample of cottage owners in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests in Colorado, USA. These two National Forests between them have an estimated 378 residential residence leases (164 in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and some 214 in the Pike).

A multi-methods approach was used to collect data on cottage use and meanings including a survey, personal project analysis, experiential sampling and in-depth interviews. The multi-method approach was used because it provided both a general assessment of the characteristics of users and use of the recreation residences, and an in-depth understanding of more complex aspects including attachment to and identification with both the cabin and the forest, the meanings associated with activities and similarities and differences between home and cabin life. These latter are particularly important in exploring the role of recreational residences in modern living.

Participants in the survey (37) were volunteers self-selected from all leaseholders who lived in the Front Range area of Colorado. A smaller number (11) of in-depth interviews were conducted mostly with couples at their place of residence, and an even smaller number of experiential sampling administrations were completed. This study was designed as a pilot to test data-collection methods and to provide some preliminary but in-depth data on a relatively unstudied group of National Forest users. Therefore, the results should be viewed in that light.

The cabins owned by these leaseholders have a wide range of facilities and some are indistinguishable from nearby cabins on private land. However, in general, the cabins are sympathetic in design to the forest environment and the level of facilities suggests that they are probably best described as 'rustic' rather than 'primitive'. Cabin use is concentrated in the Summer and Fall when weather conditions are relatively mild and

Living in the Forest: Meanings and Use of Recreational Residences
in US Forest Service Lands

Norman McIntyre
Centre for Parks, Recreation and Tourism Research,
Lakehead University, ON
Canada

Joseph W. Roggenbuck
Department of Forestry, Virginia Tech.
Blacksburg, VA. USA

ABSTRACT: The Forest Service Recreation Residence Program has been operational since the passage of the Occupancy permits Act in 1915. In the initial years the Forest Service actively encouraged summer home occupancy with the view that such occupancy encouraged recreational use and assisted in proper forest management and fire control as well as providing a source of income. Approval of further recreation residence development on public land was discontinued in 1968 as program costs exceeded revenues and the perception that such occupation of public land was elitist and potentially restricted public access to desirable recreation sites. More recently, both the appraisal process and the pursuance of permit violations have become a focus of some political controversy.

The study discussed in this paper examines the use of Recreation Residences and the meanings of such use to a sample of cottage owners in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests in Colorado, USA. These two National Forests between them have an estimated 378 residential residence leases (164 in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and some 214 in the Pike).

A multi-methods approach was used to collect data on cottage use and meanings including a survey, personal project analysis, experiential sampling and in-depth interviews. The multi-method approach was used because it provided both a general assessment of the characteristics of users and use of the recreation residences, and an in-depth understanding of more complex aspects including attachment to and identification with both the cabin and the forest, the meanings associated with activities and similarities and differences between home and cabin life. These latter are particularly important in exploring the role of recreational residences in modern living.

Participants in the survey (37) were volunteers self-selected from all leaseholders who lived in the Front Range area of Colorado. A smaller number (11) of in-depth interviews were conducted mostly with couples at their place of residence, and an even smaller number of experiential sampling administrations were completed. This study was designed as a pilot to test data-collection methods and to provide some preliminary but in-depth data on a relatively unstudied group of National Forest users. Therefore, the results should be viewed in that light.

The cabins owned by these leaseholders have a wide range of facilities and some are indistinguishable from nearby cabins on private land. However, in general, the cabins are sympathetic in design to the forest environment and the level of facilities suggests that they are probably best described as 'rustic' rather than 'primitive'. Cabin use is concentrated in the Summer and Fall when weather conditions are relatively mild and

access is easiest. Most owners tend to use the cabins frequently for short visits throughout these two seasons. Winter use is intermittent and usually confined to day visits. The average cost of owning a cabin is just over \$US1600 a year, of which almost half is the permit fee.

The number and variety of projects nominated demonstrate that this group of mainly retired people lead quite active lives both at home and at the cabin. The Personal Project Analysis suggests that the cabin is a place where owners involve themselves in 'fixing up the residence' or enjoying nature through low-key activities. In the home, various leisure projects particularly of an artistic nature are the main focus, with volunteer work and caring for children, siblings, spouses and grandchildren also being important.

The experiential sampling study indicates that there are differences in the perceptions of activities in the home and in the cabin although the activities in both contexts are very similar. Individuals generally express more positive mood states during cabin activities and find being at the cabin preferential to being in other settings. There are also some indications that common household activities like food preparation and housework, and maintenance work are less gender defined at the cabin where men are more involved in the former and women become more engaged in maintaining the cabin. Food preparation and cooking are very much viewed as social activities possibly because of the confined space afforded by cabin living. The cabin is also a focus for family gathering and dining is an especially social activity especially when shared with the extended family.

Three specific themes were emerged from the analyses of the in-depth interviews: the role of maintenance of the cabin; city and country life; and development of place attachment. Maintaining the 'cabin' is a way of bonding with the place, of meeting and overcoming challenges, of practising skills and above all it is enjoyable and fun. This perception seems to be created, in part, through the less stringent requirements for quality and freedom from time constraints when working on the residence than on the home. The positive moods associated with cabin 'work' as documented in the ESM and the sense of challenge, belonging, and identification with place, all reinforce this notion of the cabin as a free space separate from the constraints and controls of other facets of an individual's life. Persistent themes in the literature on second homes are those of 'resistance' and 'escape' (e.g., Chaplin, 1999; Quinn, 2004). However, neither of these themes is strongly represented in the narratives of cabin owners. They appear to construct life in the second home as complementary to their primary home lives which are equally rich and diverse, though different in ways that are important to the full realisation of their lifestyle. This may be due to the fact that the majority of these owners are retired and life at home is a mix of artistic leisure pursuits, voluntary community work and family.

Recreation Residences have often been built by and remain in the same family across generations leading to a strong attachment and identification with a particular forest tract. This study suggests that this attachment to place can be developed in four ways, namely: through a desire to fulfil a 'dream' of having a place in the forest; as a result of a long association through family ties and childhood experiences; memorialising the cabin and forest through family 'traditions' and stories; and finally, by maintaining and building the residence.

Introduction

Various commentators have recognized the increased influence of modernity on people's lives today. Such influences include globalization, 'time-space compression' (e.g., Williams and Kaltenborn 1999), and 'separation from nature and experience' (e.g., Giddens, 1991). The combination of these influences creates an environment characterized by dynamism, stress, a sense of constant rush, and lack of control. While it has been argued that such conditions can lead to disorientation and personal meaninglessness, the possibility of temporary 'escape' (Cohen and Taylor 1992) and 'resistance' (Ritzer, 1998) provide a variety of mechanisms through which people cope with these increasingly pervasive influences. One such theorized mechanism that is increasingly a characteristic of modern life in industrialised societies is the ownership of a second home in a natural setting.

Second Homes and Modern Life

The concept second home is difficult to tie down because it does not form a discrete class of accommodation but rather comprises an arbitrarily defined continuum variously differentiated on the basis of occupancy, ownership, function, and the character of the dwelling. Key factors, common to most definitions, are the occasional and secondary nature of the residence. Such a definition is exemplified by that of Coppock (1977) who defined a second-home as "*a property owned or rented on a long lease as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere*" (p. 3, after Downing & Dower, 1973). This definition is accepted in this report and the terms 'second-home', 'seasonal home' will be used interchangeably to indicate the type of broad dwelling type of interest in this study: *Second home* because it is the generally accepted international term; *seasonal home* because it emphasises the temporary and seasonal nature of the residence. *Recreational Residence* or *cabin* will be used to refer specifically to a second or seasonal home that is leased within the US National Forest (Lux, et al., 2001).

Coppock (1977) in the title of his book *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing* appropriately summed up the ambivalence associated with second-home development in rural communities. Hall and Muller (2004) have echoed this more recently in *Tourism, Mobility & Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. These titles point to the dilemma faced by an increasing numbers of N. Americans. In attempting to escape the stress and overcrowded, environment of urban regions, they seek a place by a lake, in the forest, atop a mountain or by the beach where, their very numbers threaten to re-create the same political, environmental and social problems in the host community they sought to escape in the first place. Some have argued (e.g., Stynes, Zheng, & Stewart, 1997; Flognfeldt, 2002) that, as with tourist/host relationships in general, second-home development can bring economic benefits to rural communities. Others (e.g., DTLR, 2001) view these same developments as straining infrastructure and negatively impacting availability and cost of local housing, the environment, and local amenity.

A second home for most N. Americans is the vacation cabin or weekend cottage situated in natural or semi-natural areas, particularly on the coastlines, rivers and lakesides and in forested and mountainous areas. In recent years in the USA, there has been an increase in the purchase of second homes, rising from 8.4% of total homes purchased in 1996 to 13.1% in 1999 (USA Today, Feb. 2000). Although there is an increasing trend towards the purchase of modern-style second homes in N. America, there still remains, a significant proportion of what might be termed 'rustic cabins.' According to a study in Wisconsin, many of these are quite primitive (Williams and Kaltenborn 1999) and a significant outcome for users is an experience of getting 'back to nature.' N America is not

unique in developing a cottage culture as an intrinsic component of a back-to-nature movement (Lux, *et al.*, 2001). The second-home phenomenon is world-wide (Hall & Muller, 2004), and almost every developed country has its equivalent, including Norway (Kaltenborn 1997), France (Chaplin 1999), and New Zealand (McIntyre 2000).

Recent work has constructed the second-home phenomenon in the broader context of amenity migration (McHugh, Hogan, & Happel, 1995) and particularly, as an aspect of tourism (Hall & Williams, 2002). The former links second home use to the broader notions of enhanced mobility and lifestyle and natural qualities of 'importing' regions, whereas the latter focuses on the political, environmental and economic impacts accompanying this use. This last has had relatively little attention from researchers, despite the fact that Waters (1990) has suggested that failure to include seasonal-home users in estimating the economic impacts of tourism may omit up to 50 per cent of domestic tourism activity. This would be especially so in regions where seasonal residents significantly outnumbered locals, which is certainly the case in many small townships in, for example, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In a study in Northern Michigan, for example, it was estimated that seasonal residents spent an average of \$US6000 per year to operate and maintain their second homes and spent about \$US46 per day in the local area (Stynes, *et al.*, 1997). These same authors indicated that seasonal-home owners in Michigan also made substantial use of Forest Service lands as recreational spaces.

Most previous research and thinking in the study of second homes has tended to focus on description, global variation and planning issues (e.g. Coppock, 1977; Gallent & Tewder-Jones, 2000). Only recently have researchers begun to explore second-home life from an experiential point of view (Chaplin, 1999; Williams & Kaltenborn, 1999; Williams & McIntyre, 2002). However, in the majority of cases research has focused on second-home experiences, which is a relatively small component of the total life of individuals. Life at home and at work and its influence on the second-home experience is largely neglected. This more inclusive contextualisation is essential because increasingly, modern lifestyles that integrate home, work and play involve circulating through a geographically extended network of social relations and across a multiplicity of dispersed places and regions (McHugh & Mings, 1996; Urry, 2000).

The thrust of the argument is that to understand second homes within the context of mobility and new forms of place making we need to understand how people weave together the lifestyle sectors of leisure, work, and multiple homes. We need to uncover what people actually do, how they feel about what they are doing and finally, we need to access their deeper thoughts and feelings about these lifestyle sectors (Williams & McIntyre, 2002).

This report focuses on developing an understanding of life in recreational residences from the perspective of a selected group of leaseholders that occupy cabins in the Arapaho-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests. A multi-method research approach was used to describe the characteristics of the leaseholders, their cabins and the use they made of them, to explore their thoughts and feelings about cabin life and how it compared to life at home.

The Recreation Residence Program

A unique program in second-home development is the Recreation Residence Program in the US National Forests. This program has a long history, having been part of the National Forests for over 80 years. An estimated 15,200 of these Recreational Residences exist throughout the length and breadth of the country. Many of these residences are situated in areas of high recreation use along the shorelines of lakes and on the banks of rivers and streams and are concentrated in the Western USA, particularly in Pacific South West region of California (Gildor, 2002).

Despite the long history of use and importance of these residences, very little is known about their owners, types and frequency of use and the benefits that they provide.

History of the Recreation Residence Program

Recreation was not initially a part of the US Forest Service mandate but rather its policies emphasised extraction of forest resources and 'wise use'. However, the growing demand for recreation opportunities influenced, in part, by the 'back to nature' movement encouraged the Forest Service to promote "simple, low-keyed, rustic, recreational experiences" within the public forests (Lux et al., 2001: p.18). In the early days, recreation was controlled by means of a permit system, which included the establishment of recreation residences leases.

Recreation leases granted under the 'organic statute' had to be reviewed annually and were 'terminable at the discretion of the Forester' (Gildor, 2002: p.997). This approach provided little long-term security considering the investment in infrastructure required of permit owners. So, in 1915 the Occupancy Permits Act was passed to provide for leases of no more than 5 acres of land for a period of 30 years.

The Forest Service viewed the Recreation Residence Program as a way of protecting forest resources. A prevalent view was that permit owners became 'conservationists', assisted in managing fire risk, and in addition, the leases were a welcome source of income. Thus, in the early years, the Forest Service actively promoted the program. Articles extolling the virtues of recreational residences and forest living even appeared in the mainstream press (e.g., *Good Housekeeping* and *The Saturday Evening Post*) and outdoor living books:

[m]any a business man has gained a healthful and keen enjoyment in clearing a small area and erecting thereon a cabin in accordance with his purse and ability (Bryant, 1929: pp.347-348, quoted in Gildor, 2002: p.998).

Waugh was appointed by the early Forest Service to examine recreation facilities in the National Forests and to develop guidelines for their development and management (Lux et al., 2001). His report favoured scenic sites (e.g. tree covered, in canyons, beside mountain streams and on lake fronts) for recreational residences. These guidelines influenced the choices of sites for which rangers issued permits. As a result, despite Forest Service policies and instructions to site recreation residences in less desirable location, many cabins were built on sites of high scenic and recreational value (e.g., shores of L. Tahoe). Therefore, right from the start conflict between 'higher uses' (the most benefit to the most people) and the apparent 'exclusive use' of recreation residence tracts was built into the system.

In the 1930's, there was a dramatic shift in Forest Service recreation policy, which moved from an emphasis on permits as a way of managing public recreation to a more broadly based public recreation strategy. This strategy directed energies into conservation and development projects such as the provision of public campgrounds, and picnic areas within the National Forests. The combination of this change in Forest Service policy in regards to recreation provision and the fact that by the 1950's the costs of the Recreation Residence Program to the Forest Service exceeded revenue from the leases contributed to a negative shift in the Forest Service administration's attitude to the program (Lux et al., 2001).

The Public Land Review Commission report published in 1970 recommended that 'public lands should not be made available for private vacation home construction and that such existing use should be eliminated' (Gildor, 2002: p. 1001). Although this recommendation was largely ignored, conflicts between general recreation use and

recreation residences combined with the growing negative attitude to the program mentioned above likely caused the Forest Service to pre-empt this recommendation and initiate a phase-out of the program. In 1968, they introduced a moratorium on the development of further tracts and in 1976 they prohibited further development within tracts, essentially bringing further extension of the program to a halt. Permit expiration and non-renewal, in the ensuing years, has reduced the number of recreation residences from a peak of 20,000 to 15,200 today (Gildor, 2002).

Managing Recreation Residences

Over the years Forest Service policies governing recreation residences have become more detailed and comprehensive. Recreation residence use is authorized on the basis that: (a) it is consistent with the management plan; b) the residence is located where an alternative public use has not been established c) the residence does not constitute a removable hazard d) the residence does not endanger the health and safety of the holder or the public.

Permits may be issued for 20 years and the Forest Service must give 10 years notice of termination. They are non-transferable but can be re-issued to heirs and purchasers of lot improvements for the remainder of the term. The residence must be occupied at least 15 days in any one year but owners cannot live there full-time. Only one building is permitted on each lease and buildings are subject to restrictions on architectural design, size, height, decks, building materials, paint colours and outbuildings.

In seasonal-home developments, controversy can erupt between seasonal residents and local councils, especially with regard to 'cottage conversion', as seasonal residents contemplate living year round and perhaps preparing a little bit of paradise for their retirement. Pressure is brought to bear on local councils to re-zone properties many of which do not have appropriate infrastructure for year round occupation and hence, potentially present an environmental hazard. As seasonal residents are eligible to vote and can outnumber locals in electing officials, relations are often strained between them and permanent residents on issues such as re-zoning and development (Marsh, 1983). These impacts act particularly in the urban fringes of regional cities and surrounding rural communities (Halseth, 1998). This trend to upgrading of properties spills over into the recreational residences in National Forests where permit violations are rampant. Examples cited by Gildor (2002) include: full-time residency, unauthorized construction and rentals. Size creep is a significant problem. For example, cabins originally 40-110 metres square now are commonly over 300 metres square.

A recent review (Lux *et al.*, 2001) has shown that permit violations have a 'substantial impact' on the recreating public, cultural and historic sites and on endangered species. This same study noted that roughly half the lots in California have unauthorized improvements and have impacted archaeological or environmental resources. It is argued that this situation arises because of Forest Service 'inability' to administer the program due to lack of staffing, and appropriate levels of expertise and training amongst those staff charged with administering the program (Gildor, 2002).

Politics and Recreation Residences

More rigorous administration of recreation residence permits and recent reviews of leases generally involving increases in lease costs have resulted in recreation residence owners evolving into a significant political force. The development of 'client politics' is not surprising given that the recreation residence program benefits a small number of people and that the costs are diffusely spread across the public domain (Gildor, 2002).

Recreation residence owners have also developed the ability to mobilize easily. For example, of the 3,200 comments to the Forest Service on its 1987 proposed rulemaking 96

per cent were from permit holders. Self-selection of congressmen into committees tends to favour the western states, where most of the RR are developed. One western congressman in a hearing on recreation residences is quoted as saying:

The eco-marxists seem to dominate our policy in the area of public lands and environmental policy these days. Obviously the Forest Service has decide it does not like permittees and is doing everything it can to eradicate them... I don't think congress feels that way. Once again, we have a large bureaucracy careening pretty much out of control and doing whatever it likes

Public sympathy is also garnered through the portrayal of recreation residence owners as “part of the West’s rich cultural heritage... often retired folks on fixed incomes who have loyally served our Nation in peacetime and war” and “primary users of these cabins are the retired, the elderly, the disabled, teachers” (Gildor, 2002: p.1013). As a result of these various influences, change in the recreation residence program is slow and difficult to implement.

The Recreation Residence Program is part of the Forest Service System and is unlikely to be able to be phased out despite philosophical and implementation difficulties. This project addressed the issues inherent in the existence of this instance of an “exclusive use” within public lands, through in-depth interviews with leaseholders.

Methods

The study area chosen was the eastern section of the Arapaho-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests in Colorado adjacent to the Front Range settlements of Denver, Boulder, Fort Collins and Colorado Springs (Figure 1). There are an estimated 164 residential residence leases in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and some 214 in the Pike (address list: Rocky Mountain Research Station, 2001).

A ‘sequential mixed method’ design (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) was adopted in this study, involving an initial orientation field visit followed by a quantitative survey on which was based a subsequent qualitative phase. This second phase was a ‘concurrent mixed method’ design (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) involving a synchronous experiential sampling method (ESM), Personal Project Analysis (PPA) and in-depth interviews focused on both life in the cottage and at home. The results of both these phases are integrated in the final third phase (Figure 2).

Study Phase 1

The approach to the survey design in Phase 1 is broadly based on the Michigan study by Stynes, *et al*, (1997) and the personal project work of Little (1989). An initial part of the survey (Appendix 1a) gathered general information on the properties including location, degree of development, access and annual expenditure; home-owner characteristics including age, income, retirement status, reasons for owning, seasonal patterns of use including number of days the home was occupied in the last year by season, and patterns of use by season (regular use, vacations, short stays). The second part of the survey was based on the Personal Project Analysis (PPA) elicitation procedure (Refer Appendix 1b).

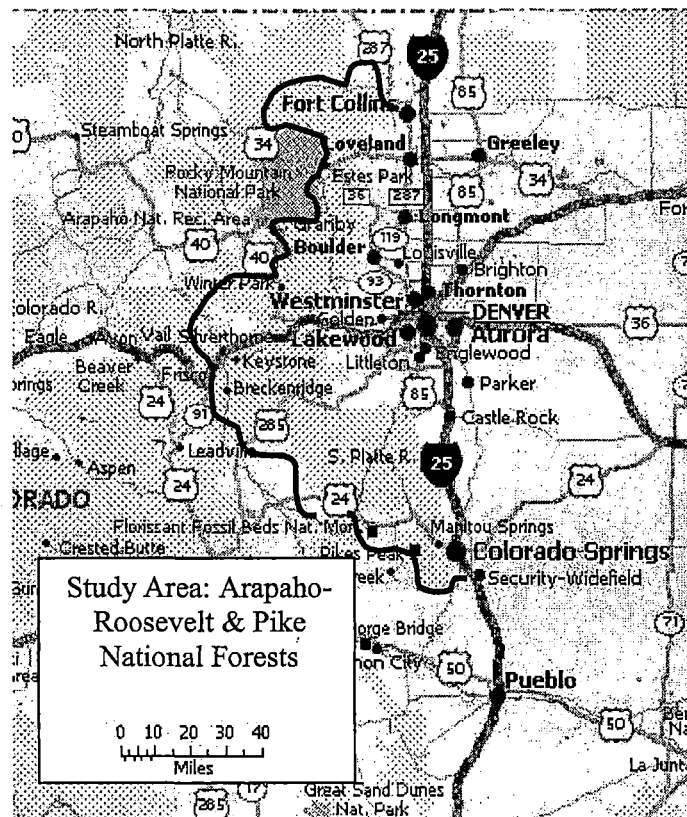
Personal Project Analysis

Goal directed behavior is characteristic of humans and the way they manage their lives whether it involves going to the summer cottage, learning to be more sociable or getting the car fixed (Little, 1989). In the late 1980’s and early 90’s there was a resurgence of interest in goal directed behavior in the form of “personal projects” (Little, 1989). Personal Projects Analysis links closely with the notion of “distributed self” as discussed by Bruner (1990), in that, aspects of self are theorised as being represented in the variety

of goal-directed behaviors of the individual. According to Little (1989) personal projects represent:

extended sets of personally relevant actions, which can range from the trivial pursuits of a typical Tuesday (e.g. 'cleaning up my room') to the magnificent obsessions of a lifetime ('liberate my people')... personal projects are natural units. . .that deal with the serious business of how people muddle through their complex lives. (p.15).

Figure 1: Study Area

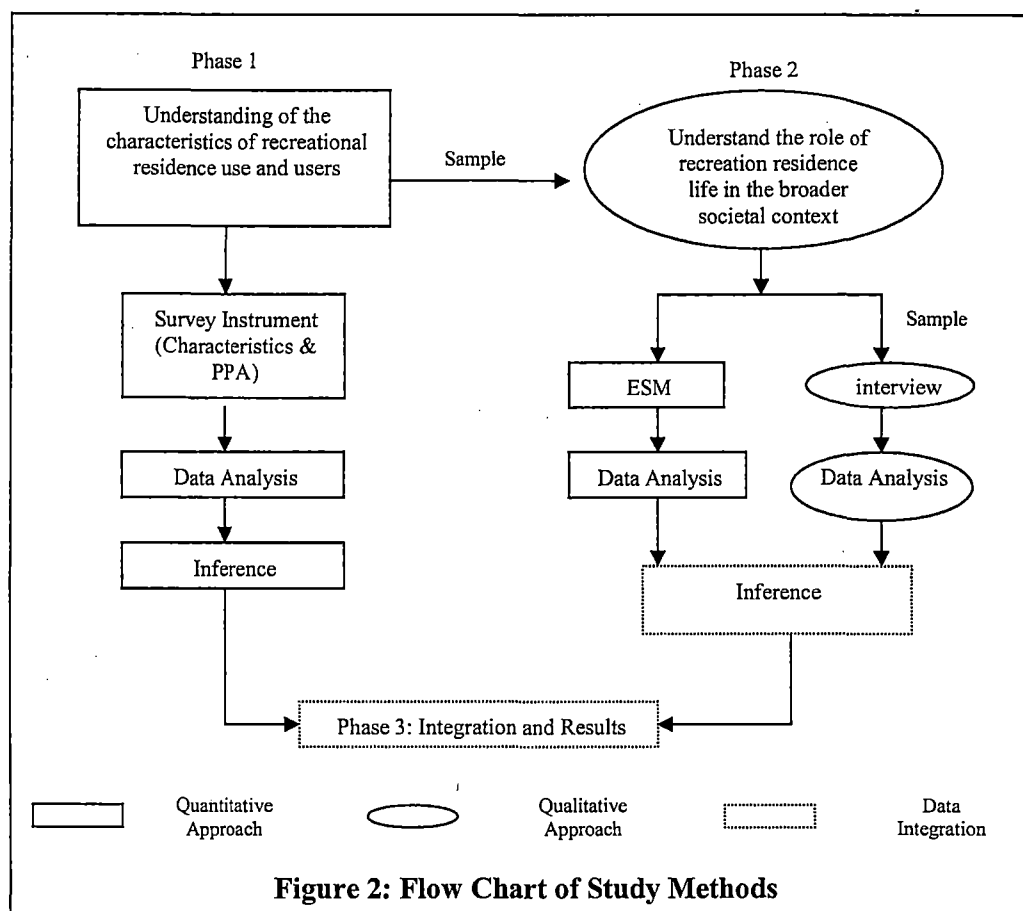


Little (1989) has developed a Personal Project elicitation survey in which participants are requested to list ten current personal projects each of which are then related by the individual on a ten point scale using a series of dimensions which reflect potentially important characteristics of personal projects. Some of these dimensions are derived directly from the sequencing of the stages in a project (e.g., initiation, control, outcome likelihood, time adequacy). Other dimensions such as self-identity, self-worth, challenge, stress, enjoyment and importance may be included because of their potential relevance to leisure projects. Two important contextual variables are also included namely, "where" and "with whom." Project analysis has a number of advantages:

- it focuses on “natural acts” that are of relevance to the individual rather than projects that arise from the researcher’s interest;
- it provides a comparative profile of each personal project which indicates both the nature and degree of involvement in each project on dimensions that are relevant to the recreation residence and home experiences; and

- it provides data that can be analyzed at the individual level and group level.

In this study, project elicitation was focused on the cabin and home projects to provide an understanding of the different and complementary roles of each in a person's life.



Study Phase 2

Phase 2 of the study involved two methods of data collection: in-depth interviews and experiential sampling (Figure 2). The individuals involved in this phase of the study were persons who volunteered from the original survey respondents. They were selected for initial invitation to provide a broad range of leaseholder characteristics (e.g. place of residence, age, length of ownership). Participant numbers in these more intensive modes of data collection were of necessity smaller comprising 11 in-depth interviews and six experiential sampling administrations.

In-depth Interviews

Interviews were conducted with recreation residence owners either at their homes or at the residence. Typically interviews lasted from 1.50 to 2.00 hrs and often included both husband and wife owners of the cabins. Interviews were structured around open questions, which explored the history of the cabin, their lifetime association with it, memories and

¹ 'Home' in this context refers to the dwelling that is occupied for most of the time by the contributors to this study.

stories about incidents that took place at the cabin, life at the cabin, special places in the forest, and what they did when they visited. Broadly similar topics were discussed in the context of the home focusing particularly on similarities and differences in lifestyles and feelings about the two contexts.

Experiential Sampling

Documenting leisure/tourism experiences as they happen is no easy task generally and attempts to do this present quite unique obstacles. Leisure/tourism activities often take place in outdoor environments, which by their very nature demand attention and focus from the participants. Under such circumstances, interrogation of the participant is likely to detract from this focus and interfere with the unfolding of the experience, if not the person's enjoyment of it. Fortunately, a number of researchers (Arnould & Price, 1993; and Hull, Stewart & Yi, 1992) have begun to address this issue through a variety of experiential sampling methods (dairies, photography and short surveys) by which the participant was prompted at intervals to describe aspects of the ongoing leisure experience. The approach taken in this study was based on the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) that was developed by Csikszentmihalyi and associates (Larson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1983; and Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1987) and involves detailed monitoring of respondents' daily behaviour through the use of pagers which are activated by the researcher on a random basis up to twelve or more times a day. The Experience Sampling approach has the advantage of providing a real-time report on environmental context, feelings and activities. When the pager sounded, the respondent was required to fill out a short questionnaire that focussed on 'where you are', 'what you are doing', 'who you are with' and 'your mood' at the time (Appendix 1c).

In the current study, the "recreational residence" version of the experiential sampling form contained a ten-point focus of attention scale (self, others, nature, task) varying from "not at all" (0) to "very much" (9) (after, Borrie, 1995), measures of challenge and competency, and key leisure dimensions (choice, freedom, time) which used a similar scaling and a 7-point semantic differential mood scale (e.g., very alert =7 to very drowsy =1) taken directly from the work of Csikszentmihalyi and associates (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987) which was adapted from Nowlis (1965). It took approximately two minutes to complete the Experiential Sampling form (ESF) and respondents were paged at random 8 times per day during the period 8-00am to 8-00pm.

Characteristics and Use of Recreational Residences

The first part of the study explored the characteristics of the cabins and their use. This consisted of two parts an initial orientation that involved visiting recreational residence tracts in the study area and the administration of a mail-out survey to leaseholders. Tracts visited in the Arapaho-Roosevelt National Forest included: Cold Springs; Cooper Creek; Empire; Hefferman; Herman Gulch; Hoop Creek; Lower Bennet Creek; Meeker Park; and West Chicago Creek (Aspen and Indian Flats). In the Pike National Forest tracts at Happy Top, Payne Gulch, Lazy Gulch, Nighthawk, and YMCA Decker were visited. The main purpose of this orientation was to examine cabin styles, construction materials and services.

Cabins were quite variable in size, varying from small single room basic cabins (Appendix 2: Plate 1a) to sophisticated houses indistinguishable from cabins on private land in the same area (Appendix 2: Plate 1b). Construction materials were generally in keeping with the 'rustic' requirements of the USFS leases with timber and natural stone being the predominant materials used (e.g., Appendix 2: Plates 2a & 2b). Some cabins departed from this style and were constructed of VJ-board or artificial siding (e.g.

Appendix 2: Plates 1a & 2c). Many cabins had wooden decks of various sizes (Appendix 2: Plates 2d & 3f). Cabin improvements included: roof-collected water supply (Appendix 2: Plate 3a) although this was an exception, most supplies seem to be drawn from natural water courses; garage and driveway (Appendix 2: Plate 3b); outside shower (Appendix 2: Plate 3g); and even a hot tub (Appendix 2: Plate 3j) and satellite dish (Appendix 2: Plate 3h). Mains electricity supply (Appendix 2: Plate 3e); propane gas (Appendix 2: Plate 3c) and wood stoves (Appendix 2: Plate 3l) for heating and cooking were noted and natural stone chimneys (one brick chimney was observed - Appendix 2: Plate 3e) were a common feature of many cabins (e.g. Appendix 2: Plates 1b, 2d & 3f). Although many cabins had outhouses (Appendix 2: Plate 3k), flush toilets were a common feature of the larger more developed cabins. Security appeared to be an issue in some tracts and steel security grills were attached to doors and windows in these situations (Appendix 2: Plate 3d). Outside improvements included wood and tool sheds, BBQ pits, grills and tables (Appendix 2: Plate 3h) and in some cases, various constructions including gates, fences, signs and a wooden bridge (Appendix 2: Plate 3m).

Despite high fire risk in the Front Ranges, mature trees closely hemmed many of the cabins creating a fire hazard (Appendix 2: Plate 4a). Interviews suggested that this common represented, at least in some cases, a rigid adherence to the 'no clearing' clauses in the leases. Some cabins in these situations also had shingle roofs that further increased the fire risk. Plate 4d (Appendix 2) demonstrates that the cabins are often set in gullies in the midst of mature trees and that, in the event of a severe fire such cabins can be totally destroyed, as occurred in the Hayman fire in 2002 (Appendix 2: Plates 4f & 4g).

A survey was developed as a second stage of this process (Appendix 1a) to contact leaseholders and recruit participants for Phase 2 of the study.

The Survey

Characteristics of the Sample

Using a data-base provided by the US Forest Service, a letter (Appendix 1b) was mailed to all leaseholders in the Arapaho-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests who lived in or close to the Front Range cities (Denver, Boulder, Fort Collins and Colorado Springs) in Colorado USA (267 leaseholders). Of these, 38 volunteered to be involved in the project and the survey was mailed to them. After a repeated mail-out, the final sample consisted of 29 participants, representing a 76 per cent response rate. As this study was designed as a pilot to test data-collection methods and to provide some preliminary but in-depth data on a relatively unstudied group of National Forest users, the results should be viewed in that light.

Thirty-nine per cent of the owners were female and the average age was 67 years. Almost two-thirds (62%) were retired, 11 per cent semi-retired and 27 per cent were still in the workforce. The owners were generally well educated with 96 per cent having either a college degree or some college education. Fifty-eight per cent were in teaching or other professional occupations, 26% in administration or medical, and the remainder were self-employed. Almost half (47%) had a household income of \$US60000 or more.

In summary, the owners were a relatively affluent, mostly retired, well-educated, professional group. The demographics of this sample are broadly similar to those described by Berg (1975) in a more general survey of original cabin owners.

Characteristics of the Recreational Residences

All of the cabins are in a forest setting with less than half (44%) sited on river/stream frontage. Only forty-four per cent are winterised and about two-thirds (77%) have gravel, graded road access both of which likely limits winter use in the rather frigid, snowy

mountains of Colorado. Grid electricity is connected to about half (48%) of the cabins but wood-burning stoves are the most prevalent form of heating, as is bottled gas for cooking. Just over half (52%) use creek water, about a quarter (24%) carry water in and the remainder use springs or are connected to a community water supply. Seventy per cent have an outhouse, 15 per cent have flush toilets and composting or chemical toilets make up the rest. It is evident that, even in this small sample, the cabins have a wide range of facilities. However, the general level of facilities suggests that this sample of cabins is probably best described as 'rustic' rather than 'primitive'.

Use Characteristics

Table 1 indicates that 'occasional' and frequent short stays' are the most common types of use of the cabins. The former took place throughout the year but mostly in the Spring and Winter. Summer and Fall were characterised more by 'frequent short stays'. Some owners spent vacations at the residence in the summer. Three of the owners surveyed visited every day during Summer and Fall and six of the 29 owners did not visit at all in the Fall and Winter.

| Season | Not Used | Occasional Use | Frequent Short Stays | Vacation > 6 days | Every Day |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Spring | 0 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Summer | 0 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| Fall | 1 | 5 | 9 | 0 | 1 |
| Winter | 5 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Table 1: Patterns of Use of the Cabins by Season (2002 –2003)

The cabins were used mainly in the Summer with an average of 24 days of use out of a possible 90 days (Table 2). Summer also showed the widest variation (23.8 days). Fall use, although considerably less than that in Summer was the second most popular season. Spring and Winter were the times of least use with zero days being the most common response. Overall use in the year averaged about 47 days, varying from a minimum of 4 days to a maximum of 190. The total use is probably much higher when use by other family members is taken into account.

| Season | Average No Days | Modal No Days | Maximum No Days | Standard Deviation |
|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Spring | 6 | 0 | 40 | 8.2 |
| Summer | 24 | 20 | 90 | 23.8 |
| Fall | 13 | 10 | 80 | 17.9 |
| Winter | 3 | 0 | 15 | 3.9 |
| Total Days | 47 | 34 | 190 | 46 |

Table 2 Number of Days Used By Season (2002 - 2003)

In summary, cabin use is concentrated in the Summer and Fall when weather conditions are relatively mild and access is easiest. Most owners tend to use the cabins frequently for short visits throughout these two seasons.

Comparisons with cabin owners in Michigan (Stynes, *et al*, 1997) indicate that owner use of these privately owned homes were higher averaging 70 days per year. However, patterns of use are broadly similar, with summer being the most popular time for extended stays and short visits are the norm in Winter.

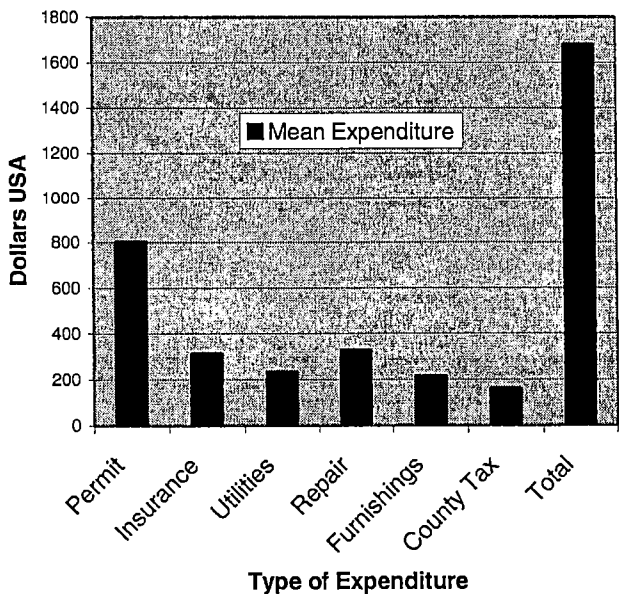
Expenditures

A key issue for many owners at the present time is the costs associated with owning a cabin (Figure 3), especially as the US Forest Service is moving to charge lease fees equivalent to that levied on adjacent private lands. Interview data and media (e.g., indicate that this is an issue of considerable controversy as it has resulted in increases in rates for many owners in excess of what they feel are justifiable on the basis of the restrictive leasehold conditions and the fixed income status of many of the retiree owners. Figure 2 shows that, at an average of \$US800, the Permit Fee is the most costly part of owning the cabin. All the other costs (insurance, utilities, repairs, furnishings and county taxes) are very similar, averaging between \$US150 - \$US200 per annum. The average cost of owning a cabin is just over \$US1600 a year.

Summary

The tract visits indicated that a variety of construction materials were in use predominantly log, wood and stone. In this regard, the cabins were appropriate, in the main, to the forest context and the guidelines of the USFS (Lux, *et al*, 2001). While, overall, the recreational residences in this part of Colorado have remained relatively rustic in appearance, both 'size creep' (Gildor 2001: 1006) and also modernisation that is common in second-homes elsewhere are in evidence here. The survey results generally supports the field observation data with regard to locale, infrastructure, and level of development of the recreational residences. Use of the recreation residences is generally spasmodic, short frequent summer-time stays being the most prevalent type of use. Arguably, given the average income of \$US60000 a year, an average expenditure of \$1600 per year for access to a residence in the National Forest seem reasonable but this view is not shared universally by the owners contacted in this study.

Figure 3: Types of Expenditure on Cabins



Personal Projects at Home and at the Cabin

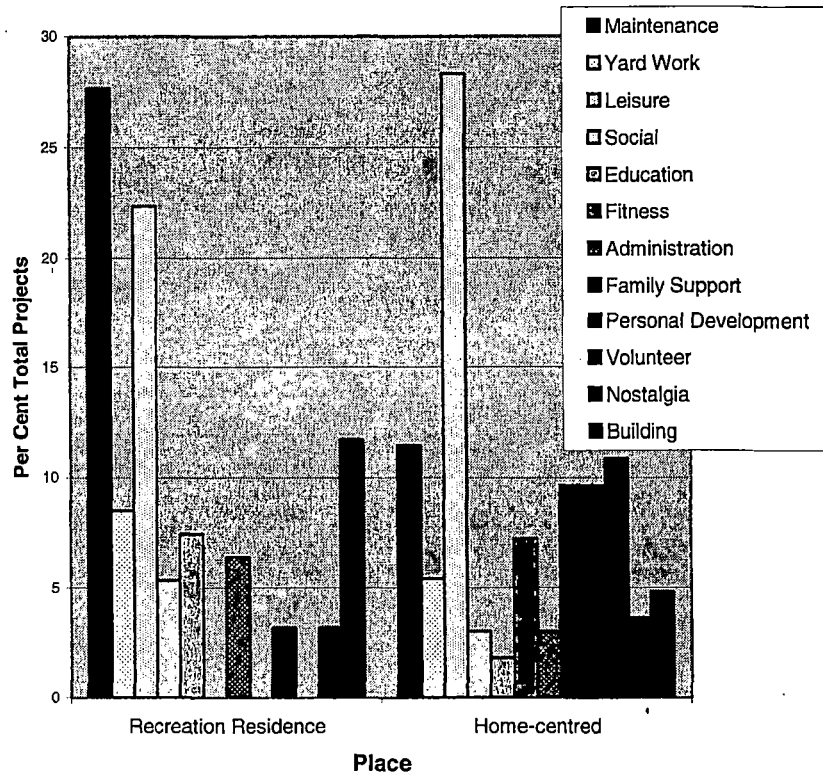
The second part of the survey examined the sorts of things that owners did when they stayed at the cabin and at home. Personal Projects were elicited by asking contributors to list:

as many personal projects as you can that you are engaged in or thinking about at the present time. Don't just list formal projects, or important ones, but rather I would appreciate you developing a list of everyday activities or concerns that characterize your life (a) in the home and (b) at the recreational residence.

This process elicited a total of 94 cabin projects and 171 home-based projects. These included: 'put varnish on the cabin'; 'explore the Colorado Trail'; 'weed out closets and basement'; 'losing a few pounds'; 'manage transition when my wife retires'; 'become a better listener'; 'learn Spanish' (Figure 3). The individual projects were classified into twelve broad categories (Figure 4) to facilitate comparisons across contexts (home/cabin) and between different studies.

Cabin projects are dominated by maintenance, leisure, and building projects. On the other hand, leisure and to a lesser extent maintenance, volunteer work, family support, and personal development projects characterised the home (Figure 4). The range of projects in the latter context is also broader. Notable among the project types missing from the cabin context are fitness, family support, and volunteer projects.

Figure 4: Types of Projects at Home and at the Recreation Residence



Examination of the specific leisure type projects conducted at the cabin and the home demonstrated an emphasis on nature-based leisure activities (hiking and wildlife watching) in the former. These are also likely to contribute to fitness goals, a prominent project focus in the home context. In the home, artistic projects (painting, music and writing) prevail.

The number and variety of projects demonstrate that this group of mainly retired people lead quite active lives both at home and at the cabin. The Project Analysis suggests that the cabin is a place where owners involve themselves in 'fixing up the residence' or enjoying nature through low-key activities. In the home, various leisure projects particularly of an artistic nature are the main focus, with volunteer work and caring for children, siblings, spouses and grandchildren also being important.

Perceptions of Life in the Forest

Phase 2 of the study focused on an in-depth exploration of the meanings of life in the forest through experiential sampling and interviews. As argued earlier, an essential part of understanding life at the recreational residence is to view it as part of the total life of the person and for this reason experiential sampling, personal project analysis and interviews included the 'primary home' as well as the recreation residence. This section will explore broad aspects of the analysis of these latter two sectors.

Experiential Sampling (Home & Cabin)

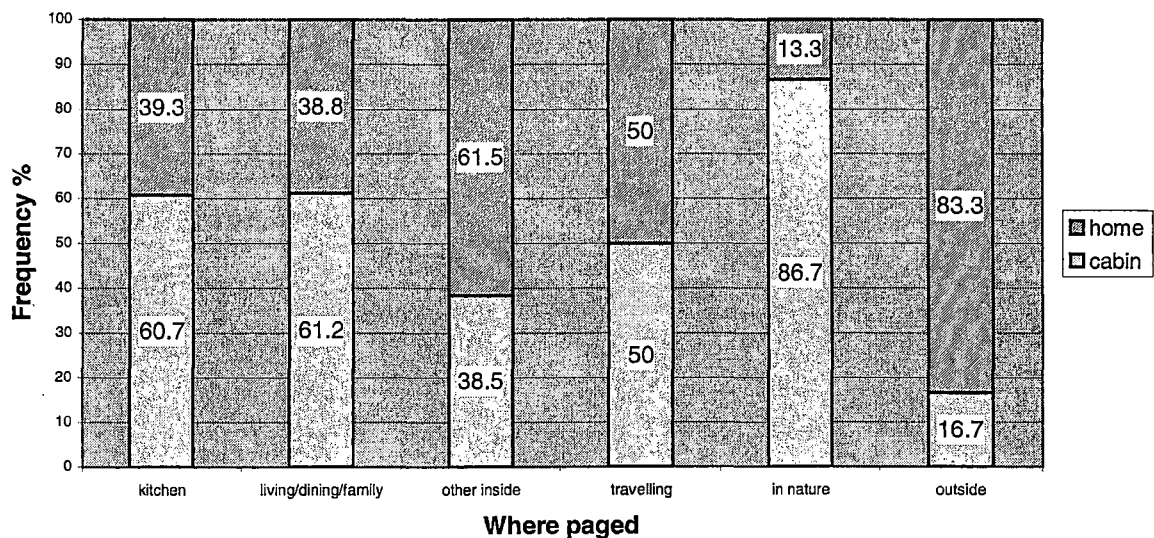
The experiential sampling involved a small number of participants (6) including two couples and two individuals (1 male) who volunteered to be involved in this final stage of the project. Participants varied in age from mid 40's to late 70's, three were retired, one still in the workforce and the other two were currently not in employment. Three of the four cabins involved in the project were in the Arapaho-Roosevelt NF and the other in the Pike. During August and September 2003, a total of 22 days were sampled, made up mainly of 3 day periods at the cabin and at home during weekends. This resulted in 162 events 86 (53%) of which were recorded at the cabins and 76 (47%) at the homes.

This first stage of the analysis focused principally on the 'events' rather than the individual participant to provide an overall picture of life at the cabin and home for this group of people.

Individuals were asked to state 'where they were' and 'what they were doing' at the time they were paged. Localities and activities were categorised and entered into an SPSS data-base for analysis. It is evident that more time is spent inside at the cabin (60%) in 'social spaces' such as the living/kitchen areas than at home (30%). 'Outside' visits, classified as beyond the property confines, are much more common at home (83%) than at the cabin, reflecting the busier lifestyles in the former life space. Where people do venture outside they talk of it in terms of 'nature' and these forays consist mainly of short walks in the vicinity of the cabin. As one participant commented:

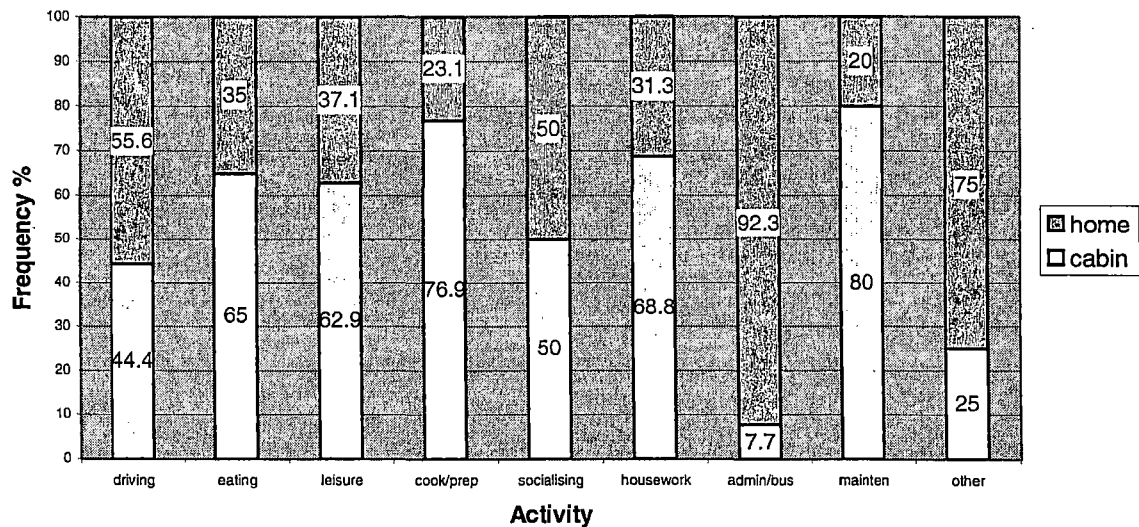
Haley and I walked with the dogs. Beautiful evening, beautiful setting! Again I felt blessed

Figure 5: Locality of ESM (Cabin/Home)



Activities in which people were engaged when paged are shown in Figure 6. At the cabin, driving was principally confined to the journey to and from the site, whereas at home it involved travel to church, work, business meetings, and visiting friends.

Figure 6: Activities at the Cabin and Home



Cooking, eating, and housework take up a much lesser proportion of time at home (35% or less) than at the cabin where these activities are often a focus for social interaction:

*Had wonderful dinner with family - everyone helps with preparation and clean up.
A wild and crazy time but I would not trade this day for anything.*

Leisure (e.g., reading, hiking, relaxing) and maintenance (e.g., mending shed, repairing water pipe) activities are a major aspect of life at the cabin as was suggested earlier in the PPA. Although, it should be noted that the proportion of leisure projects mentioned were higher in the home context, this is at variance with the sampled activities. This may simply reflect the short time period sampled in the ESM.

The journey to and from the cabin was seen as an integral part of the experience:

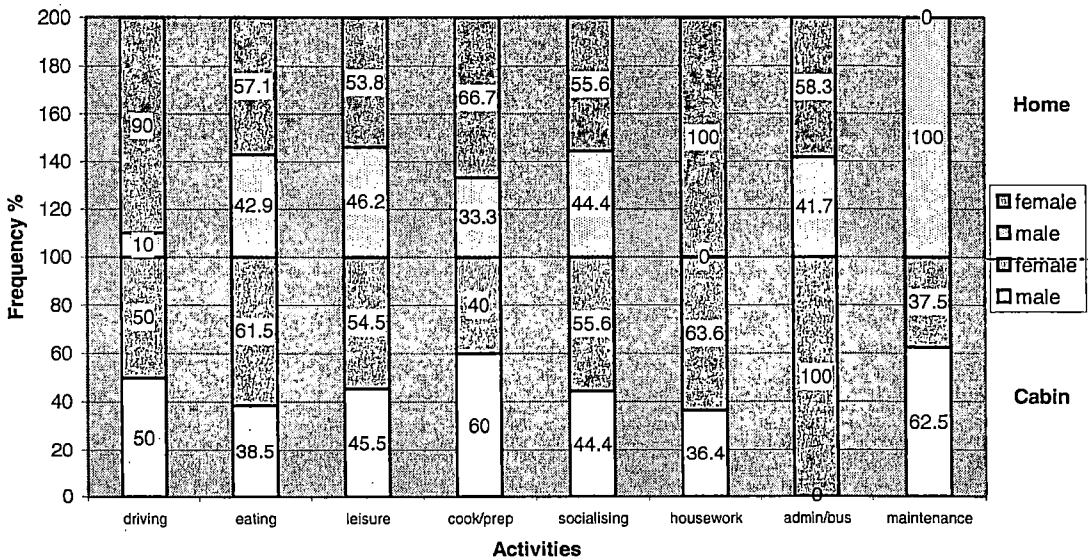
We have started our trip home. The mountains are beautiful! We are watching for moose as we drive (we often see them). No traffic yet... We're on a dirt road.

A second stage of the analyses examined gender differences in the activities sampled by the ESM. A notable feature of this analysis (Figure 7) is the clear separation of gender roles with regard to ‘maintenance’ (male) and housework (female) and in cooking responsibilities in the home. This compares to the cabin context where the first two are shared more equably and the cooking responsibilities are reversed. Reasons for this are unclear but a clue may be provided by a comment by a male paged while cooking at the cabin:

Cooking pancakes & bacon for ten people on old fashioned wood burning stove... Cooking for 10 people keeps you busy, but I have always done it & enjoy it.

Cooking at home, it would appear, does not have the same appeal as working with an “old-fashioned stove” at the cabin.

Figure 7: Activities at Home and Cabin by Gender



Analysis of Variance (ANOVA: SPSS 10.1) with location (cabin/home) as the independent variable and focus of attention (self, others, nature, & task) revealed that nature focus and task focus were significantly different in the cabin and home contexts (Table 3). As would be expected, thinking about and appreciating nature is a significantly

more important aspect of cabin life. In contrast, the reverse is true with 'task focus', where at home, a variety of responsibilities associated with business and work come into play.

| Focus of Attention | Cabin (Mean) | Home (Mean) | Significance |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Self | 3.7 | 3.3 | 0.500 |
| Others | 3.4 | 3.7 | 0.530 |
| Nature | 4.6 | 1.8 | 0.001 |
| Task | 5.6 | 6.5 | 0.050 |

Table 3: Focus of Attention by Location

A second series of experiential factors examined explored aspects of 'challenge', competence' and 'leisure' (choice, preference for the activity and time perception) derived from the work of Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1987). In general, the degree of challenge in and activities and the individual's perception of competence to undertake them did not differ significantly between the two contexts. Similarly, perceptions of leisure did not differ overall between the two contexts. The one exception was in terms of the question "Do you wish you had been doing something else?" This perception arose significantly less frequently ($F= 6.38$; $p< 0.01$) in activities at the cabin (0.52 i.e., Not at all) than in those at home (1.3 i.e., some). This would suggest that activities at the cabin were somewhat more preferred.

Mood is pervasive to the human condition. It is defined as "the subtle subjective state or feelings of a person at any given moment" (Hull, 1991, p.252). It refers to specific sets of subjective feelings (e.g., excited, bored, stressed, relaxed, aroused and drowsy), which occur as a consequence of everyday experiences. Leisure theorists commonly contend that "leisure is a positive experience accompanied by satisfying and pleasurable moods, emotions, or feelings" (Mannell, 1980, p. 77). In addition, mood and mood changes have been found to be sensitive to the multi-phasic and dynamic nature of the lived and remembered leisure experience (e.g., Hammitt, 1980; Hull, 1990; Hull & Michael, 1995). In summary, mood seems to provide a reliable and valid indicator of the quality of experiences, and one that is especially sensitive to the dynamic nature of such events. The Experiential Sampling Form (ESF) used a semantic differential scale to examine the 'mood states' of individuals each time they were paged with a view to exploring the characteristics and patterns of mood states in the two contexts.

Analysis of variance with location (cabin/home) as the independent variable and mood state (Table 4) as the dependent was used to explore differences between the cabin and home. In all cases, mood states were lower in the home context than at the cabin (Figure 4). Overall individuals were significantly more, happy, calm, cheerful, friendly, free and relaxed at the cabin than at home. It is important to note that, on average, none of the mood states in either context were negative, although they did approach neutral in some cases (e.g., excited/bored; active/passive).

The ESM indicates that there are differences in the perceptions of activities in the home and in the cabin although the activities in both contexts are very similar. Individuals generally express more positive mood states during cabin activities and find being at the cabin preferential to being in other settings. There are also some indications that common household activities like food preparation and housework, and maintenance work are less

gender defined at the cabin where men are more involved in the former and women become more engaged in maintaining the cabin. Food preparation and cooking are very much viewed as social activities possibly because of the confined space afforded by cabin living. At least in one instance, the cabin forms a focus for family gathering and dining is an especially social activity especially when shared with the extended family. As one participant commented:

Had a wonderful dinner with my family. I feel so lucky to be here at the cabin with this part of my family. With four children and three families it's a treat to have each branch at separate times.

| Mood States | Cabin (Mean Score) | Home (Mean Score) | Significance |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Alert/drowsy | 6.1 | 5.7 | 0.134 |
| Happy/sad | 6.1 | 5.5 | 0.006* |
| Cheerful/irritable | 5.9 | 5.3 | 0.001* |
| Energetic/tired | 5.0 | 4.6 | 0.080 |
| Friendly/angry | 5.9 | 5.4 | 0.010* |
| Active/passive | 4.7 | 4.6 | 0.920 |
| Calm/worried | 6.0 | 4.9 | 0.001* |
| Sociable/lonely | 5.6 | 5.2 | 0.090 |
| Free/constrained | 5.9 | 5.2 | 0.001* |
| Excited/bored | 4.6 | 4.5 | 0.379 |
| Clear/confused | 5.7 | 5.6 | 0.539 |
| Relaxed/tense | 5.7 | 5.1 | 0.005* |

* $p < 0.05$

Table 4: Mood State by Location (Cabin/Home)

In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews with selected owners provided insights into the meanings associated with living at the cabins. This discussion will examine some aspects only, in particular those that are linked to understanding key aspects of the PPA, ESM and survey responses discussed earlier.

Consuming Work/Productive Leisure?

Chaplin (1999) in her study of British second-home owners in France considers maintenance and renovation work at the second home as 'consuming work/productive leisure' interpreting it as a form of escape to a ludic space characterised by a seamless integration of work and leisure.

Maintenance was the most often mentioned type of project at the cabin. One 70 year-old man who had spent most of his life as a stock-broker reminisced about working on the cabin some 40 years earlier:

SB: *I was a helper... her father was the worker... in fact the worst job I ever had in my life . . . that window on the east side. That was a little bitty window. Those logs are like steel. You know they're a hundred years old... we had a handsaw. And it took me two or three days to do that... was the hardest work I've ever done in my life. You couldn't saw those logs.*

This particular maintenance/building task is very special and recounted with obvious pride at overcoming the challenge and successfully completing the window.

Such personal stories about work down on the cabins that create a binding relationship and sense of ownership with the particular structure are evident in most of the transcripts. One Denver couple talk about renovating their 'cabin' that they acquired about 13 years ago:

JP: *put in a little bigger windows. I put in these nice windows and... put log cabin siding inside. It's so cute. It looks like a log cabin inside now.*

PP: *Yeah. 'Cause it's not actually log, it's like a siding stuff. . . . It was kinda just slapped up pretty much that cabin was. But . . . we painted it. I mean we've done a lot to it... but we sorta like to do that.*

A female owner from Colorado Springs expressed how working on the 'cabin' made it her own:

RB: *I got really attached to the cabin by doin' all the work to it... on the inside. That kinda became a part of me. I made curtains for every room in the cabin and . . . I don't know, I feel like my . . . my heart is there because of the things that I've put into it.*

Owners also made a distinction between working on the home and at the 'cabin'.

PP: *one thing nice is that... [at the] cabin you can do as much as you want and then leave. It's not like your house where you have to remodel your kitchen and live in it... We have to like wait for money for to do it. So it sort of... it gets done when the money's there and the time.*

There is a sense of freedom to undertake tasks at the 'cabin' and a sense of accomplishment in doing something that he/she would find rather daunting at home. RB's husband expressed it this way:

MB: *I mean, I can't saw . . . two sticks together and get 'em to fit right... but I can go up there [cabin] and do things and feel like I really accomplished some things, working with my hands. And 'cause I'm not a highly skilled person in that area but... I put in the... linoleum floor. I... you know, I put in the stove.*

Working on and at the 'cabin' is a way of bonding with the place, of meeting and overcoming challenges, of practising skills and above all it is enjoyable and fun. This perception seems to be created, in part, through the less stringent requirements for quality and freedom from time constraints when working on the residence than on the home.

The positive moods associated with cabin 'work' as documented in the ESM and the sense of challenge, belonging, and identification with place, as expressed above, all reinforce this notion of the cabin as a free space separate from the constraints and controls of other facets of an individual's life.

City and Country

Despite the relatively sparse use of the cabins amounting to between 10 and 20 days a year (Table 2), these cabins play a very important part in the lifestyles of the people involved. A major motive for the acquisition of second-homes has been theorized as 'escape'

principally from the 'controlled, predictable, alienating world of their normal working lives' (Chaplin, 1999: p. 54) to an 'idealized rural way of life' (Butler & Hoggart, 1994: p. 128).

Contributors in this study expressed similar themes, for example:

RB: *The city gets to ya and then after a while it's nice to get a break [at the cabin]... and then come back [to the city] and you're refreshed again,*

However, a contrary view was expressed by others who viewed life at the 'cabin' as more of a complement to their life at home and who expressed appreciation of the contribution of each to their total lifestyle.

PP: *we appreciate living here [home in Denver] after having a cabin. It's... I just can't see that other lifestyle. I can't see living in the mountains and driving to Denver everyday... I like the contrast of the two...*

JP: *on the other hand, there's a lot of really interesting things to do here [Denver] that we don't do up there [cabin]... Go to art galleries or go downtown...*

Aspects of 'cabin' life such as:

- the contact with nature and wildlife:

MB: *[the family] fish with flies and lures; so we return all the fish back. But they're, like the deer, kinda part of our family. We kinda look at the fish as part of our family and the hummingbirds... it's a very large extended family.*

- getting in touch with a more simple lifestyle:

PP: *you know, the thing that's great about our cabin is... is the simplicity of it;*

- being part of a different, more rural community:

JP: *as you exit the highway and turn to the cabin... There's a lumberyard right there... It's a funky little lumberyard. And it's really fun to buy stuff and then work on the cabin. Support the little community up there, you know. It's kinda neat;*

- the lack of the accoutrements of modern technology

PR: *I guess to me, part of the neat thing about it [cabin] is it is primitive. 'N when you go up there . . . you don't listen to radios, and you don't watch TV, you don't have any telephone.*

All provide a contrast to and complement the full lifestyle (Figure 4) experienced at home. There is little sense of the time at the cabin as an escape. Rather, return to the city and its assets are equally appreciated. As **JP** expresses it:

I like it up there [cabin] because it's like... going back in time a little bit. But really it's more than that... it's a bridge between living in this urban environment that is... unnatural... [and] nature that, you know, primitive man came out of. This is a lot closer to it.

Persistent themes in the literature on second homes are those of 'resistance' and 'escape' (e.g., Chaplin, 1999; Quinn, 2004). However, neither of these themes is strongly represented in the narratives of cabin owners. They appear to construct life in the second home as complementary to their primary home lives which are equally rich and diverse, though different in ways that are important to the full realisation of their lifestyle. This

may be due to the fact that the majority of these owners are retired and life at home is a mix of artistic leisure pursuits, voluntary community work and family.

Attachment to Place

Many of the owners have either built the residence themselves or inherited it from parents or grandparents. A strong feeling of attachment is evident in owners' comments:

RB: *our dream wasn't just that we would like a place to relax, but it'd be a place where our children and our children's children could . . . build family relationships as well.*

One couple sold the residence that had been handed down from the wife's family. Recently, they managed to re-lease it and commented thus:

JB: *we just quit going up... and so we thought, well, we'll just sell it... and then we've always regretted it... I just never ever thought we'd get it back. It was just like it was meant to be.*

Another couple talked of special family times:

JP: *the aspens had turned. All of us, kids and everybody, we're just layin' in . . . layin' in a big bed of aspen leaves and just looking up and watching them come down on us... It's just unbelievable, through the yellow leaves and then how blue the skies are in Colorado.*

This study suggests that attachment to place can be developed in four ways:

- it arises through a desire to fulfil a 'dream' of having such a place in the forest,
- as a result of a long association through family ties and childhood experiences,
- as a site memorialized through family 'traditions' and stories.
- by maintaining and building the residence.

Conclusions

This report has addressed a unique type of second home; a cabin set in the forest on public land. Although this type of lease brings with it certain restrictions on the freedom of owners, at least for the Colorado owners involved in this study, the 'woody' nature of the residence is both appreciated and viewed as appropriate. Life in these cabins demonstrates broad similarities to that reported in other second-home studies (e.g., Chaplin, 1999; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999) in that maintenance of the residence and its surrounds, contact with nature and wildlife, strong attachment to place and cross-generational continuity, a merging of work and leisure and celebration of a 'rustic minimalist' way of life are key aspects of this lifestyle.

References

- Arnould, E.J., & Price, L.L. (1993). River magic: Extraordinary experiences and the extended service encounter. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20, 28-45
- Borrie, W.T. (1995). *Measuring the multiple, deep, and unfolding aspects of the wilderness experience using the experience sampling method*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Virginia Tech., Blacksburg.
- Bruner, J. 1990. *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buller, H. & Hoggart, K. 1994. *International Counterurbanization: British Migrants in Rural France*. Avebury: Aldershot.

- Chaplin, D. 1999. Consuming work/productive leisure: the consumption patterns of second home environments. *Leisure Studies* 18: 41-55.
- Cohen, S. & Taylor, L. 1992. *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life*. 2nd Edn. Routledge: London.
- Coppock, J.T. (1977). *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* Oxford: Pergamon
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Larson, R. (1987). Validity and reliability of the experience sampling method. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 175, 526-536.
- Gallent, N. & Tewder-Jones, M. (2000). *Rural Second Homes in Europe: Examining housing supply and planning control*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Stanford University Press: Stanford..
- Gildor, D. 2002. Location, Location, Location: Forest Service Administration of the Recreation Residence Program. *Ecology Law Quarterly*, 28: 993-1034.
- Hall, C.M. & Muller, D. (2004). *Tourism, Mobility & Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground*. Clevedon, UK :Channelview Publications.
- Hall, C.M. & Williams, A.M. (2002). (Eds.) *Tourism & Migration: New Relationships between production and consumption* (pp. 169-185). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Halseth, G. (1998). *Cottage Country in Transition: A Social Geography of Change and Contention in the Rural-Recreational Countryside*. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.
- Hammitt, W.E. (1980). Outdoor Recreation: Is it a multi-phase experience? *Journal of Leisure Research*, 12, 107-115.
- Hull, R.B. IV. (1990). Emotion and leisure: Causes and consequences. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 22, 55-67.
- Hull, R.B. IV, & Michael, S.E. (1995). Nature-based recreation, mood change, and stress reduction. *Leisure Sciences*, 17, 1-14.
- Hull, R.B. IV, Stewart, W.P., & Yi, Y.K. (1992). Experience patterns: Capturing the dynamic nature of a recreation experience. *Journal of Leisure Research* 24, 240-252.
- Kaltenborn, B.P. 1997. Nature of Place Attachment: A Study Among Recreation Home owners in Southern Norway. *Leisure Sciences* 19: 175-189.
- Larson, R., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1983). The Experience Sampling Method. In H. Reis (Ed.), *New Directions for the Naturalistic Methods in the Behavioral Sciences*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Little, R.B. 1989. Personal projects analysis: Trivial pursuits, magnificent obsessions, and the search for coherence. In D. Buss, & N. Cantor (Eds.) *Personality Psychology: Recent trends and emerging directions* (pp. 15-31). New York, NY: Springer Verlag.
- Lux, L., Rose, J., Supernowicz, D., McIntyre, M., Connors, P., Brady, J., Cutts, J., Brandoff-Kerr, J., McNeil, S., & Lassall, S. 2001. *Strategy for inventory and historic evaluation of recreation residence tracts in the national forests of California from 1906 to 1959*. USDA Forest Service, Pacific South West Region, Vallejo, CA.
- Mannell, R. (1980). Social psychological techniques and strategies for studying leisure experiences. In S.E. Iso-Ahola (Ed.), *Social Psychological Perspectives on Leisure and Recreation*. (pp. 62-88). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Marsh, J. (1983). Cottaging and land use decision making: A case study of the Kawarthas. *Recreation Research Review*, 10, 5-11.
- McHugh, K.E. 2000. Inside, outside, upside down, backward, forward, round and round: A case for ethnographic studies of migration. *Progress in Human Geography* 24: 71-90.
- McHugh, K.E. & Mings, R.C. 1996. The circle of migration: attachment to place and aging. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86:530-550.

- McIntyre, N. 2000. Baches, Setters and Seasonal Homes: The good life! Paper presented at the 8th *International Symposium on Society and Resource Management*, Bellingham, WA: Western Washington University.
- Nowlis, V. (1965). Research with the mood adjective check list. In S.S. Tompkins, & C.E. Izard (Eds.), *Affect, Cognition, and Personality*. New York: Springer.
- Rojek, C. & Urry, J. (Eds.) 1997. *Touring Cultures: Transformations of travel and theory*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Ritzer, G. 1998. *The McDonaldization Thesis*. Sage Publications: London.
- Stynes, D., Zheng, J., & Stewart, S.I. 1995. *Seasonal homes and natural resources: Patterns of use and impact in Michigan*. Gen. Tech. Rep. NC-194. St Paul, MN: USDA Forest Service.
- Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (2003). *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.
- Urry, J. 2000. *Sociology beyond societies: Mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London, UK: Routledge.
- USA Today 2000. New wealth brings surge in two-home families. February 11, 2000: 1-2.
- Waters, J. (1990). *Travel industry world yearbook: the big picture – 1990*. New York: Child and Waters, Inc.
- Williams, D.R. & Kaltenborn, B.P. 1999. Leisure Places and Modernity: The use and meaning of recreational cottages in Norway and the USA. In D. Crouch (Ed.), *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and geographical knowledge*. (pp.214-230). Routledge: London & New York.
- Williams, D.R. & McIntyre, N. 2002. Where Heart and Home Reside: Changing Constructions of Place and Identity. In *Trends 2000: Shaping the Future. The 5th Outdoor Recreation and Tourism Trends Symposium* (pp. 392-403): Lansing MI: Department of Park, Recreation, and Tourism Resources, Michigan State University.

Acknowledgements: This study was supported by the US Forest Service Rocky Mountain Research Station, Fort Collins, Colorado. Lakehead University SSHRC Grant supported the development and administration of the survey to Recreation Residence leaseholders. Special thanks is due to Dr. Dan Williams, USDA Forest Service, RMRS, Fort Collins for assistance in the field and discussions on this report.

Appendix 1a

Recreation Residence Survey

Please note that the information you provide in this survey will be used only in statistical descriptions and will not be associated with your name or contact details.

Section 1: Use of your Recreation Residence

1. Using the chart below, please describe the patterns of use of your recreation residence. In the first column, check the box next to each statement that applies to your use of your recreation residence in **Spring 2002**. Check boxes in the **Summer, Fall, and Winter** columns based on your use during these seasons in the past year (2002 – 2003).

| | Spring 2002 Mar, Apr, May | Summer 2002 Jun, Jul, Aug | Fall 2002 Sept, Oct, Nov | Winter 2002 & 2003 Dec, Jan, Feb |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Use Patterns by Season | | | | |
| Someone stays at the recreation residence nearly every day | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Spend at least one vacation period of 6 or more nights | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Frequent short stays | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Occasional use | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Not used | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Please estimate how many days your recreation residence was occupied during each season in the past year (2002–2003). Include days the recreation residence was occupied by you, family, or friends. There are roughly 90 days in each season.

| | Spring 2002 Mar, Apr, May | Summer 2002 Jun, Jul, Aug | Fall 2002 Sept, Oct, Nov | Winter 2002–2003 Dec, Jan, Feb |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Days Occupied | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Section 2: Characteristics of your Recreation Residence

1. Describe the landscape around your recreation residence. (Please X any that apply.)

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Inland lake waterfront | <input type="checkbox"/> | River or stream frontage | <input type="checkbox"/> | Forest setting | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|

Other (please specify) _____

2. To what extent is your recreation residence winterized for year-round use?

Not winterized ☐ Partially winterized ☐ Completely winterized ☐

3. What kinds of **facilities** do you have at your recreation residence? (*please check all that apply*).

Electricity

Utility grid ☐ Generator ☐ Solar Panels ☐

Other (*please specify*) _____

Water Supply

Local Community Water Supply ☐ Private well ☐ Creek/Lake ☐

Other (*please specify*) _____

Toilet

Outhouse ☐ Chemical ☐ Composting ☐ Flush ☐

Other (*please specify*) _____

Cooking

Bottled Gas ☐ Natural gas service ☐ Electricity ☐ Wood Stove ☐

Other (*please specify*) _____

Heating

Propane gas ☐ Natural gas service ☐ Electricity ☐ Wood Stove ☐

Other (*please specify*) _____

Recreational

Deck ☐ BBQ (built) ☐ Hot tub/sauna ☐

Other (*please specify*) _____

CommunicationsSatellite TV ☐ Cable TV ☐ Antenna TV ☐Phone (fixed) ☐ Phone (cell) ☐ Radio (AM-FM) ☐Other (*please specify*) _____**4. Describe the access to your recreation residence**Paved ☐ Gravel graded ☐ 4-Wheel Drive track ☐No vehicle access ☐Other (*please specify*) _____**Section 3: Costs of your Recreation Residence****1. How much money did you spend to operate and maintain your recreational residence during the calendar year 2002?**

Permit fee \$ _____

Insurance and security \$ _____

Utilities (phone, electric, gas etc.) \$ _____

New construction and remodeling \$ _____

Repair and maintenance \$ _____

Furnishings and utensils \$ _____

Recreation equipment \$ _____

Recreation equipment repair and maintenance \$ _____

Other (*please specify*) \$ _____

Section 4: Some things about you

Finally, in order to develop a general profile of recreation residence users we would like an indication of your income, age group, education and occupation. Check the appropriate boxes below. (This information will be used for statistical purposes only.)

2002 Household Income Group

- ☐ Under \$30,000
☐ \$30,001 to \$60,000
☐ \$60,001 to \$100,000
☐ More than \$100,000

Education

- ☐ Grade school
☐ High school
☐ Trade school
☐ Some college
☐ College degree

What is your gender? ☐ Female ☐ Male

What is your age? _____ years

Are you currently retired?

☐ Yes →

What year did you retire? _____

What was your occupation prior to retirement? _____

☐ No



What is your occupation? _____

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY

Appendix 1b

Personal Project Analysis

I am interested in studying the kinds of activities and concerns that you have at this time in your life, both in general and also at the cabin. I am calling these Personal Projects. All of us have a number of personal projects (tasks/interests/concerns) at any given time that we think about, plan for, begin, and sometimes (though not always) complete.

Here are some examples of personal projects that have been listed by people in different situations:

- Helping Gary get along better with his sister
- Overcoming my fear of meeting people
- Getting more exercise
- Finishing the book Alan gave me
- Taking a trip to Alaska
- Cutting the grass regularly
- Finding a part-time job
- Redecorating my room
- Clarifying my religious beliefs
- Losing 10 lbs.
- Making a birthday present for my friend

First, I would ask you to spend about 15 minutes or so just writing down in the spaces provide on page 4 as many personal projects as you can that you are engaged in or thinking about at the present time. Don't just list formal projects, or important ones, but rather I would appreciate your developing a list of everyday activities or concerns that characterize your life (a) at work, (b) in your home life and (c) at the cabin.

List of Projects

Please spend about 15 minutes writing down as many **cabin**, **home life** and **work** personal projects as you can.

[illegible]

Appendix 1c

Date _____ Time beeped _____ Time filled out _____

AS YOU WERE BEEPED

Where were you (describe briefly)? _____

What was the main thing you were doing? _____

Who was with you? Spouse/partner () Alone ()
 Your children () Other _____
 Friends/neighbours () _____

How much are you focusing on each of the following:

| | Not at all | Somewhat | Quite a bit | Very | much |
|---|------------|----------|-------------|-------|------|
| Your own thoughts, feelings and emotions? | 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 | |
| Other people around you? | 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 | |
| The natural environment? | 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 | |
| The task you are carrying out? | 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 | |

How would you rate the level of challenge for you in the activity?

| None | Some | Quite a bit | Very high |
|------|-------|-------------|-----------|
| 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 |

How would you rate your competence in undertaking this activity?

| None | Some | Quite a bit | Very high |
|------|-------|-------------|-----------|
| 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 |

How much choice did you have in selecting this activity?

| None | Some | Quite a bit | Very high |
|------|-------|-------------|-----------|
| 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 |

Do you wish you had been doing something else?

| Not at all | Some | Quite a bit | Very much |
|------------|-------|-------------|-----------|
| 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 |

Was time passing?

| Slowly | Some | As usual | Fast |
|--------|-------|----------|-------|
| 0 | 1 2 3 | 4 5 6 | 7 8 9 |

Describe how you feel at this time? (Please rate all feelings listed)

| | Very | Quite | Some | Neither | Some | Quite | Very | |
|-------------|------|-------|------|---------|------|-------|------|----------|
| Alert | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Drowsy |
| Happy | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Sad |
| Irritable | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Cheerful |
| Energetic | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Tired |
| Angry | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Friendly |
| Active | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Passive |
| Worried | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Calm |
| Lonely | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Sociable |
| Constrained | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Free |
| Excited | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Bored |
| Confused | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Clear |
| Relaxed | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | Tense |

Any specific comments or thoughts?

Plate 1: Cabin Types

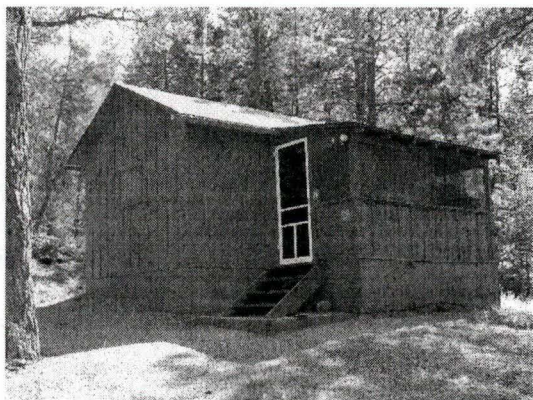


Plate 1a: Basic Cabin

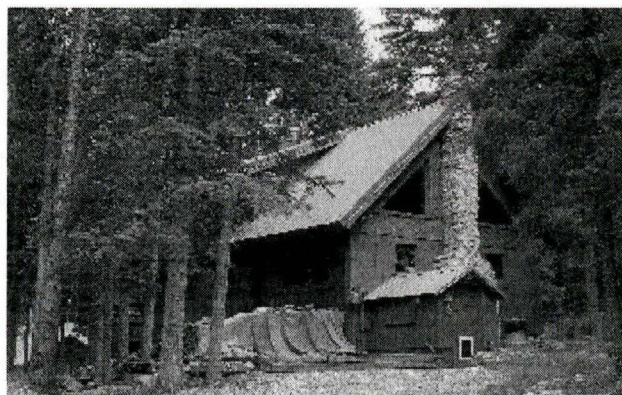


Plate 1b: Large Cabin

Plate 2: Cabin Construction

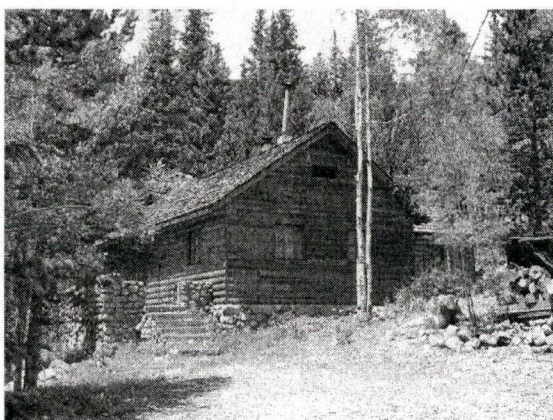


Plate 2a: Log and Rock Construction

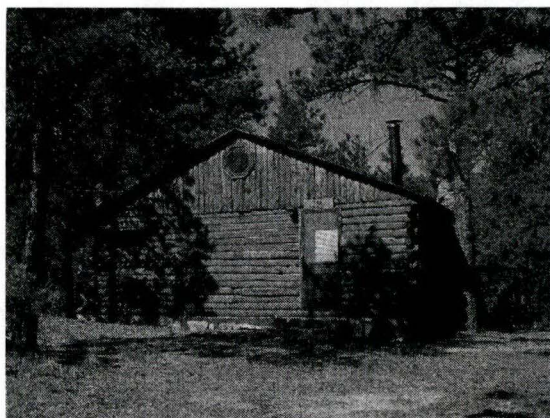


Plate 2b: Log Construction

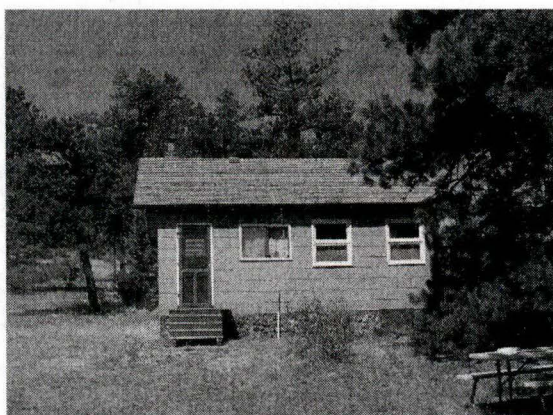


Plate 2c: Siding

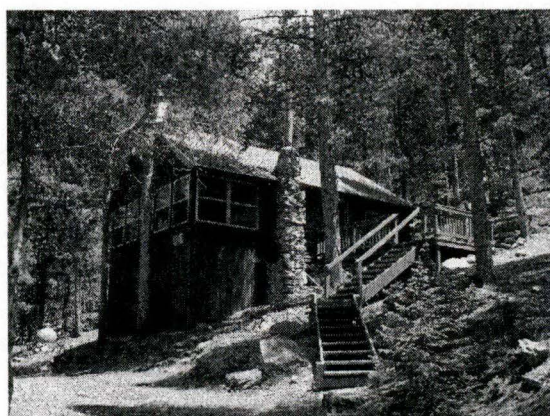


Plate 2d: Cabin with deck

Plate 3: Cabin Improvements

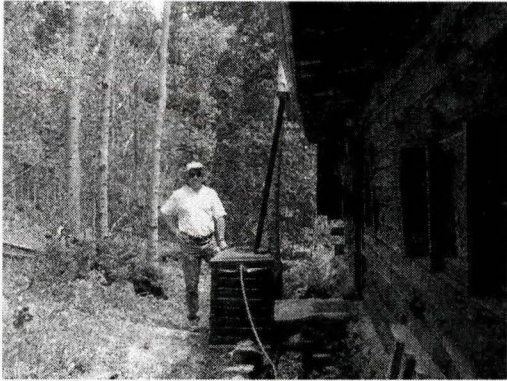


Plate 3a: Water Collection Tank

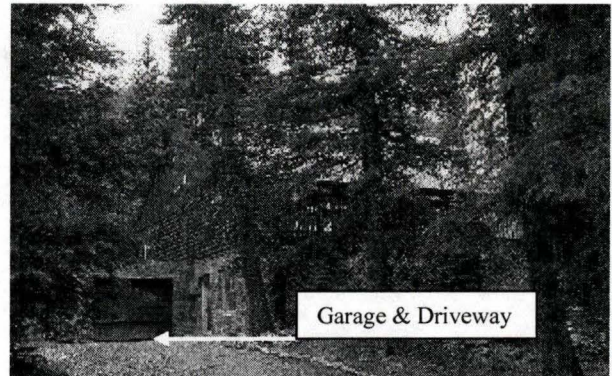


Plate 3B: Garage

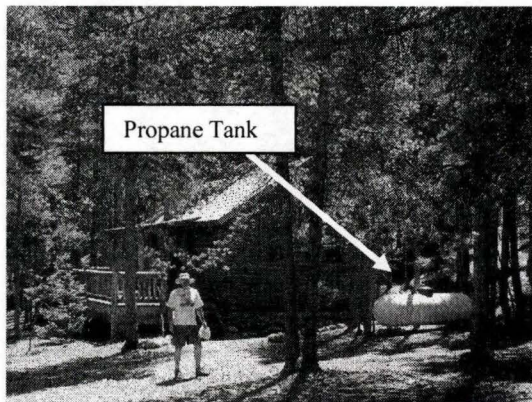


Plate 3c: Propane Tank

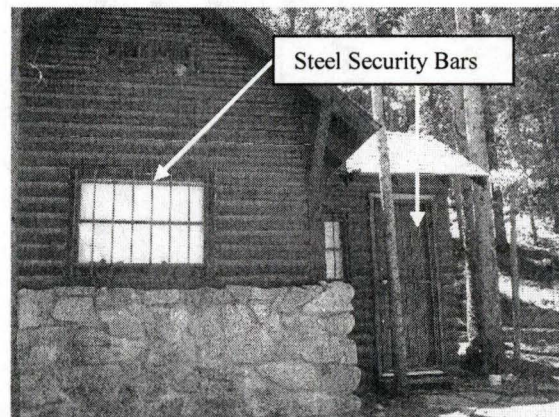


Plate 3d: Security

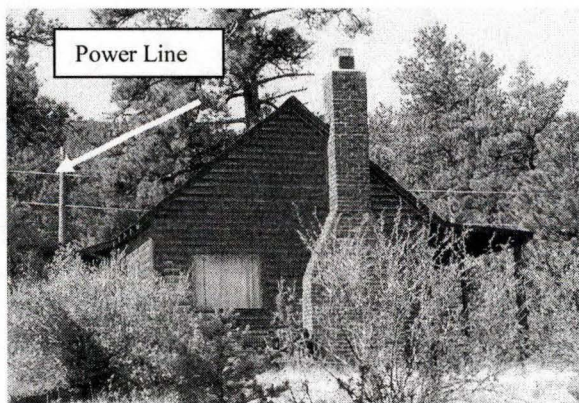


Plate 3e: Brick Chimney & Electric Supply

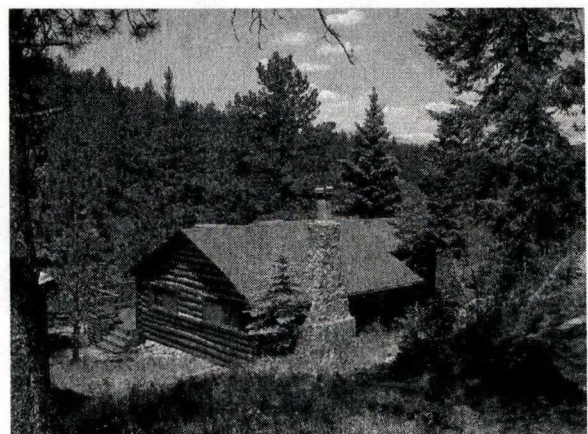


Plate 3f: Natural Rock Chimney & Deck

Plate 3 (Cont'd)



Plate 3g: Outside shower

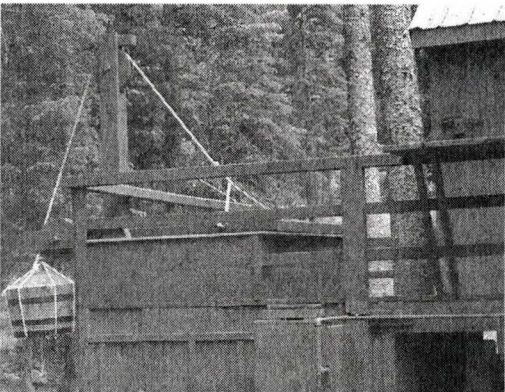


Plate 3j: Wood-fired Hot Tub



Plate 3l: Cabin Interior & Wood-fired Stove

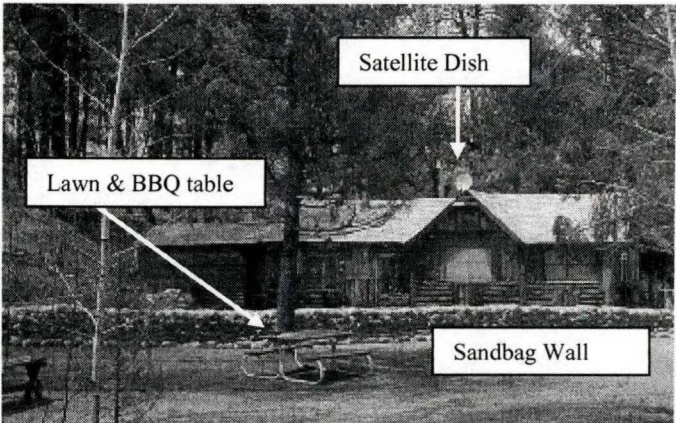


Plate 3h: Satellite Dish, BBQ area and flood protection

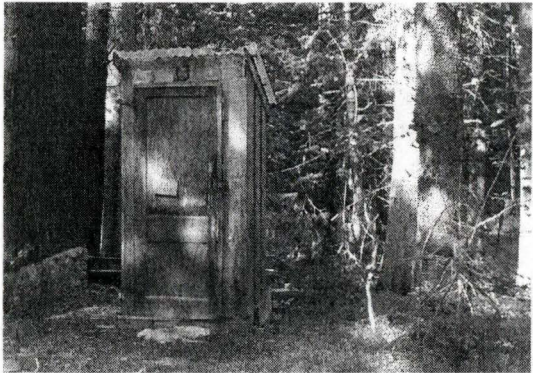


Plate 3k: Outhouse



Plate 3m: Wood Bridge

Plate 4: Fire



Plate 4a: Cabin in trees

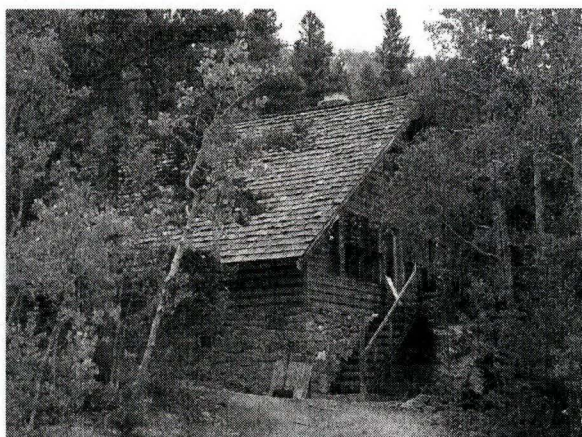


Plate 4c: Shingle roof and trees

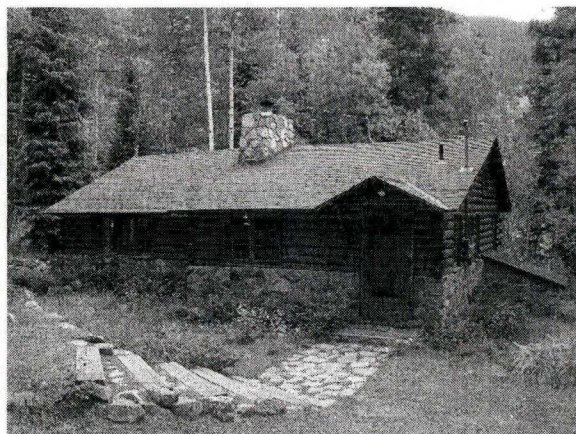


Plate 4b: Cleared space around cabin,
tile roof, natural stone base.

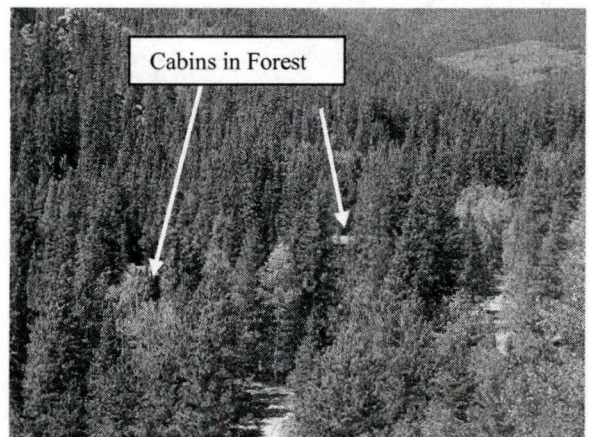


Plate 4c: Shingle roof and trees

Plate 4d: USFS Recreational Residence
Tract



Plate 4f: Fire Destroyed Cabin.

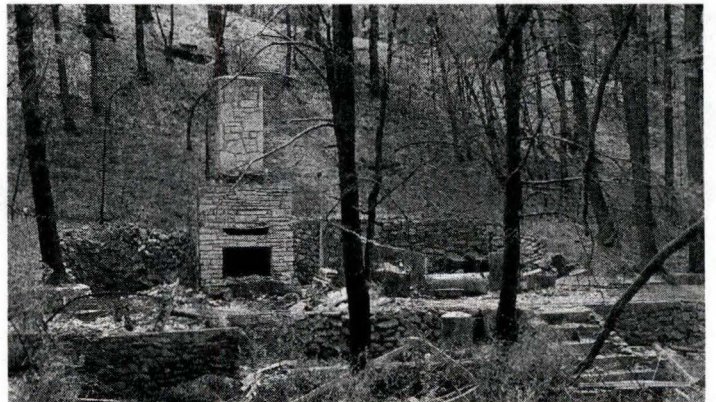


Plate 4g: Cabin Remains.

Living in the Forest: Meanings and Use of Recreational Residences

N. McIntyre¹, & B. Svanqvist²

Center for Parks, Recreation and Tourism Research,
Lakehead University, ON
Canada¹

Department of Social Sciences, Karlstad University,
Geography/Tourism, Karlstad, Sweden²

norman.mcintyre@lakeheadu.ca

Abstract: The Forest Service Recreation Residence Program has been operational since the passage of the Occupancy permits Act in 1915. In the initial years the Forest Service actively encouraged summer home occupancy with the view that such occupancy encouraged recreational use and assisted in proper forest management and fire control as well as providing a source of income. Approval of further recreation residence development on public land was discontinued in 1968 as program costs exceeded revenues and the perception that such occupation of public land was elitist and potentially restricted public access to desirable recreation sites. More recently, both the appraisal process and the pursuance of permit violations have become a focus of some political controversy.

Recreational residences have often been built by and remain in the same family across generations leading to a strong attachment and identification with a particular forest tract. The study discussed in this paper examines the use of these residences and the meanings of such use to a sample of cottage owners in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests in Colorado, USA. A multi-methods approach was used to collect data on cottage use including project analysis, surveys, experiential sampling and in-depth interviews. The rationale underlying the multi-method approach and some preliminary results of this study will be presented in this paper.

Introduction

Various commentators have recognized the increased influence of modernity on people's lives today. Such influences include globalization, 'time-space compression' (e.g., Williams and Kaltenborn 1999), and 'separation from nature and experience' (e.g., Giddens, 1991). The combination of these influences creates an environment characterized by dynamism, stress, a sense of constant rush, and lack of control. While it has been argued that such conditions can lead to disorientation and personal meaninglessness, the possibility of temporary 'escape' (Cohen and Taylor 1992) and 'resistance' (Ritzer, 1998) provide a variety of mechanisms through which people cope with these increasingly pervasive influences.

One such theorized mechanism that is increasingly a characteristic of modern life in industrialised societies is the ownership of a second home in a natural setting.

Second Homes and Modern Life

A second home for most N. Americans is the vacation cabin or weekend cottage situated in natural or semi-natural areas, particularly on the coastlines, rivers and lakesides and in forested and mountainous areas. In recent years in the USA, there has been an increase in the purchase of second homes, rising from 8.4% of total homes purchased in 1996 to 13.1% in 1999 (USA Today, Feb. 2000). Although there is an increasing trend

towards the purchase of modern-style second homes in N. America, there still remains, a significant proportion of what might be termed 'rustic cabins.' According to a study in Wisconsin, many of these are quite primitive (Williams and Kaltenborn 1999) and a significant outcome for users is an experience of getting 'back to nature.' The purchase and use of second homes is not limited to N. America but is also a growing phenomenon in other developed societies, including Norway (Kaltenborn 1997), France (Chaplin 1999), and New Zealand (McIntyre 2000).

Most research and thinking in the study of second homes tends to focus on the experiences in that context. However, in the majority of cases this experience is a relatively small component of the total life of individuals. Life at home and at work and its influence on the second-home experience is largely neglected. This more inclusive contextualisation is essential because increasingly, modern lifestyles that integrate home, work and play involve circulating through a geographically extended network of

social relations and across a multiplicity of dispersed places and regions (McHugh & Mings, 1996: Urry, 2000).

The thrust of the argument is that to understand second homes within the context of mobility and new forms of place making we need to understand how people weave together the lifestyle sectors of leisure, work, and multiple homes. We need to uncover what people actually do, how they feel about what they are doing and finally, we need to access their deeper thoughts and feelings about these lifestyle sectors (Williams & McIntyre, 2002).

The Recreation Residence Program

A unique program in second-home development is the Recreation Residence Program in the US National Forests. This program has a long history, having been part of the National Forests for over 80 years. An estimated 15,200 of these Recreational Residences exist throughout the length and breadth of the country. Many of these residences are situated in areas of high recreation use along the shorelines of lakes and on the banks of rivers and streams and are concentrated in the Western USA, particularly in Pacific South West region of California (Gildor, 2002).

Despite the long history of use and importance of these residences, very little is known about their owners, types and frequency of use and the benefits that they provide. This paper reports one part of a larger study, which addresses these broad research issues.

History of the Recreation Residence Program

Recreation was not initially a part of the US Forest Service mandate but rather its policies emphasised extraction of forest resources and 'wise use'. However, the growing demand for recreation opportunities influenced, in part, by the 'back to nature' movement encouraged the Forest Service to promote "simple, low-keyed, rustic, recreational experiences" within the public forests (Lux et al., 2001: p.18). In the early days, recreation was controlled by means of a permit system, which included the establishment of recreation residences leases.

Recreation leases granted under the 'organic statute' had to be reviewed annually and were 'terminable at the discretion of the Forester' (Gildor, 2002: p.997). This approach provided little long term security considering the investment in infrastructure required of permit owners. So, in 1915 the Occupancy Permits Act was passed to provide for leases of no more than 5 acres of land for a period of 30 years.

The Forest Service viewed the Recreation Residence Program as a way of protecting forest resources. A prevalent view was that permit owners became 'conservationists', assisted in managing fire risk, and in addition, the leases were a welcome source of income. Thus, in the early years, the Forest Service actively promoted the program. Articles extolling the virtues of recreational residences and forest living even appeared in the mainstream press (e.g., *Good Housekeeping* and *The Saturday Evening Post*) and outdoor living books:

[m]any a business man has gained a healthful and keen enjoyment in clearing a small area and erecting thereon a cabin in accordance with his purse and ability (Bryant, 1929: pp.347-348, quoted in Gildor, 2002: p.998).

Waugh was appointed by the early Forest Service to examine recreation facilities in the National Forests and to develop guidelines for their development and management (Lux et al., 2001). His report favoured scenic sites (e.g. tree covered, in canyons, beside mountain streams and on lake fronts) for recreational residences. These guidelines influenced the choices of sites for which rangers issued permits. As a result, despite Forest Service policies and instructions to site recreation residences in less desirable location, many cabins were built on sites of high scenic and recreational value (e.g., shores of L. Tahoe). Therefore, right from the start conflict between 'higher uses' (the most benefit to the most people) and the apparent 'exclusive use' of recreation residence tracts was built into the system.

In the 1930's, there was a dramatic shift in Forest Service recreation policy, which moved from an emphasis on permits as a way of managing public recreation to a more broadly based public recreation strategy. This strategy directed energies into conservation and development projects such as the provision of public campgrounds, and picnic areas within the National Forests. The combination of this change in Forest Service policy in regards to recreation provision and the fact that by the 1950's the costs of the Recreation Residence Program to the Forest Service exceeded revenue from the leases contributed to a negative shift in the Forest Service administration's attitude to the program (Lux et al., 2001).

The Public Land Review Commission report published in 1970 recommended that 'public lands should not be made available for private vacation home construction and that such existing use should be eliminated' (Gildor, 2002: p. 1001). Although this recommendation was largely ignored, conflicts between general recreation use and recreation residences combined with the growing negative attitude to the program mentioned above likely caused the Forest Service to pre-empt this recommendation and initiate a phase-out of the program. In 1968, they introduced a moratorium on the development of further tracts and in 1976 they prohibited further development within tracts, essentially bringing further extension of the program to a halt. Permit expiration and non-

renewal, in the ensuing years, has reduced the number of recreation residences from a peak of 20,000 to 15,200 today (Gildor, 2002).

Managing Recreation Residences

Over the years Forest Service policies governing recreation residences have become more detailed and comprehensive. Recreation residence use is authorized on the basis that: (a) it is consistent with the management plan; b) the residence is located where an alternative public use has not been established c) the residence does not constitute a removable hazard d) the residence does not endanger the health and safety of the holder or the public.

Permits may be issued for 20 years and the Forest Service must give 10 years notice of termination. They are non-transferable but can be re-issued to heirs and purchasers of lot improvements for the remainder of the term. The residence must be occupied at least 15 days in any one year but owners cannot live there full-time. Only one building is permitted on each lease and buildings are subject to restrictions on architectural design, size, height, decks, building materials, paint colours and outbuildings.

Permit violations are rampant. Examples cited by Gildor (2002) include: full-time residency, unauthorized construction and rentals. Size creep is a significant problem. For example, cabins originally 40-110 metres square now are commonly over 300 metres square.

A recent review (Lux *et al.*, 2001) has shown permit violations to have a 'substantial impact' on the recreating public, cultural and historic sites and on endangered species. This same study noted that roughly half the lots in California have unauthorized improvements and have impacted archaeological or environmental resources. It is argued that this situation arises because of Forest Service 'inability' to administer the program due to lack of staffing, and appropriate levels of expertise and training amongst those staff charged with administering the program (Gildor, 2002).

Politics and Recreation Residences

More rigorous administration of recreation residence permits and recent reviews of leases generally involving increases in lease costs have resulted in recreation residence owners evolving into a significant political force. The development of 'client politics' is not surprising given that the recreation residence program benefits a small number of people and that the costs are diffusely spread across the public domain (Gildor, 2002).

Recreation residence owners have also developed the ability to mobilize easily. For example, of the 3,200 comments to the Forest Service on its 1987 proposed rulemaking 96 per cent were from permit holders.

Self-selection of congressmen into committees tends to favour the western states, where most of the RR are developed. One western congressman in a hearing on recreation residences is quoted as saying:

The eco-marxists seem to dominate our policy in the area of public lands and environmental policy these days. Obviously the Forest Service has decide it does not like permittees and is doing everything it can to

eradicate them... I don't think congress feels that way. Once again, we have a large bureaucracy careening pretty much out of control and doing whatever it likes"

Public sympathy is also garnered through the portrayal of recreation residence owners as 'part of the West's rich cultural heritage... often retired folks on fixed incomes who have loyally served our Nation in peacetime and war' and 'primary users of these cabins are the retired, the elderly, the disabled, teachers' (Gildor, 2002: p.1013). As a result of these various influences, change in the recreation residence program is slow and difficult to implement.

The Recreation Residence Program is part of the Forest Service System and is unlikely to be able to be phased out despite philosophical and implementation difficulties. This paper, rather than address the issues inherent in the existence of this instance of an 'exclusive use' within public lands, focuses on the perceptions of a sample of recreation residence owners as to the role that the 'cabin'¹ in the forest plays in their lives.

Cabins in the Forest: A Case Study

The approach used in this study involved four methods of data collection: personal project analysis, a survey, in-depth interviews and experiential sampling. Three of these will be discussed in this paper: Personal Project Analysis, the survey and the in-depth interviews.

Personal Project Analysis

Goal directed behavior is characteristic of humans and the way they manage their lives whether it involves going to the summer cottage, learning to be more sociable or getting the car fixed (Little, 1989). In the late 1980's and early 90's there was a resurgence of interest in goal directed behavior in the form of "personal projects" (Little, 1989). Personal Projects Analysis links closely with the notion of "distributed self" as discussed by Bruner (1990), in that, aspects of self are theorised as being represented in the variety of goal-directed behaviors of the individual. According to Little (1989) Personal projects represent:

extended sets of personally relevant actions, which can range from the trivial pursuits of a typical Tuesday (e.g.

¹ Although the strict terminology for these dwellings is 'recreation residence', contributors to this study consistently referred to them as 'cabins' For this reason, that terminology will be adopted in the remainder of this paper.

'cleaning up my room') to the magnificent obsessions of a lifetime ('liberate my people')... personal projects are natural units. . .that deal with the serious business of how people muddle through their complex lives. (p.15).

Little (1989) has developed a Personal Project elicitation survey in which participants are requested to list ten current personal projects each of which are then related by the individual on a ten point scale using a series of dimensions which reflect potentially important characteristics of personal projects. Some of these dimensions are derived directly from the sequencing of the stages in a project (e.g., initiation, control, outcome likelihood, time adequacy). Other dimensions such as self-identity, self-worth, challenge, stress, enjoyment and importance may be included because of their potential relevance to leisure projects. Two important contextual variables are also included namely, "where" and "with whom." Project analysis has a number of advantages:

- it focuses on "natural acts" that are of relevance to the individual rather than projects that arise from the researcher's interest;
- it provides a comparative profile of each personal project which indicates both the nature and degree of involvement in each project on dimensions that are relevant to the recreation residence and home experiences; and
- it provides data that can be analyzed at the individual level and group level.

In this study, project elicitation was focused on the cabin and home² projects to provide an understanding of the different and complementary roles of each in a person's life.

The Survey

The survey sought characteristics of the use of the recreation residence, facilities, details of annual expenditure and personal information about the owners. The survey and the Personal Project Elicitation package were mailed out to a sample of recreation residence owners in Eastern Colorado.

In-depth Interviews

Interviews were conducted with recreation residence owners either at their homes or at the residence. Typically interviews lasted from 1.50 to 2.00 hrs and often included both husband and wife owners of the cabins. Interviews were structured around open questions, which explored the history of the cabin, their lifetime association with it, memories and stories about incidents that took place at the cabin, life at the cabin, special places in the forest, and what they did when they visited. Broadly similar topics were discussed in the context of the home focusing particularly on similarities and differences in lifestyles and feelings about the two contexts. Perceptions of Forest Service management were also discussed, as were changes in the forests and Colorado over the time that they had owned the cabin.

The Sample

The survey was mailed to a sample of 37 cabin owners who volunteered to take part in the study. All these owners had leases in the Arapahoe-Roosevelt and Pike National Forests and lived in Front Range cities (Denver, Boulder, Fort Collins and Colorado Springs) in Colorado USA. Twenty-nine surveys were returned providing a 78 per cent response rate. Seventeen completed Personal Project Analysis were returned and 11 in-depth interviews were conducted.

Thirty-nine per cent of the owners were female and the average age was 67 years. Almost two-thirds (62%) were retired, 11 per cent semi-retired and 27 per cent were still in the workforce. The owners were generally well educated with 96 per cent having either a college degree or some college education. Fifty-eight per cent were in teaching or other professional occupations, 26% in administration or medical, and the remainder were self-employed. Almost half (47%) had a household income of \$US60000 or more.

In summary, the owners were a relatively affluent, mostly retired, well-educated, professional group. The demographics of the this sample are broadly similar to those described by Berg (1975) in a more general survey of original cabin owners.

Life in the Forest

The first part of the study explored the characteristics of the cabins and their use.

Characteristics and Use of the Cabins

All of the cabins are in a forest setting with less than half (44%) sited on river/stream frontage. Only forty-four per cent are winterised and about two-thirds (77%) have gravel, graded road access both of which likely limits winter use in the rather frigid, snowy mountains of Colorado. Grid electricity is connected to about half (48%) of the cabins but wood-burning stoves are the most prevalent form of heating, as is bottled gas for cooking. Just over half (52%) use creek water, about a quarter (24%) carry water in and the remainder use springs or are connected to a community water supply. Seventy per cent have an outhouse, 15 per cent have flush toilets and composting or chemical toilets make up the rest. It is evident that, even in this small sample, the cabins have a wide range of facilities. However, the general level of facilities suggests that they are probably best described as 'rustic' rather than 'primitive' (Figure 1).

² 'Home' in this context refers to the dwelling which is occupied for most of the time by the contributors to this study.

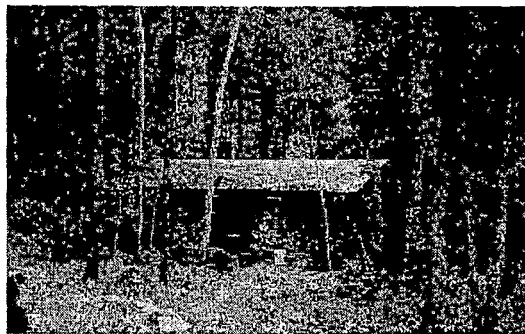


Figure 1 Cabin in the Forest: Arapahoe-Roosevelt NF.

Table 1 indicates that 'occasional' and frequent short stays' are the most common types of use of the cabins. The former took place throughout the year but mostly in the Spring and Winter. Summer and Fall were characterised more by 'frequent short stays'. Some owners spent vacations at the residence in the summer. Three of the owners surveyed visited every day during Summer and Fall and six of the 29 owners did not visit at all in the Fall and Winter.

| Season | Not Used | Occasional Use | Frequent Short Stays | Vacation > 6 days | Every Day |
|--------|----------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Spring | 0 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Summer | 0 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| Fall | 1 | 5 | 9 | 0 | 1 |
| Winter | 5 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Table 1 Patterns of Use of the Cabins by Season (2002 – 2003)

The cabins were used mainly in the Summer with an average of 24 days of use out of a possible 90 days (Table 2). Summer also showed the widest variation (23.8 days). Fall use, although considerably less than Summer use was the second most popular season. Spring and Winter were the times of least use with zero days being the most common response. Overall use in the year averaged about 47 days, varying from a minimum of 4 days to a maximum of 190. The total use is probably much higher when use by other family members is taken into account.

| Season | Average No Days | Modal No Days | Maximum No Days | Standard Deviation |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Spring | 6 | 0 | 40 | 8.2 |
| Summer | 24 | 20 | 90 | 23.8 |
| Fall | 13 | 10 | 80 | 17.9 |
| Winter | 3 | 0 | 15 | 3.9 |
| Total Days | 47 | 34 | 190 | 46 |

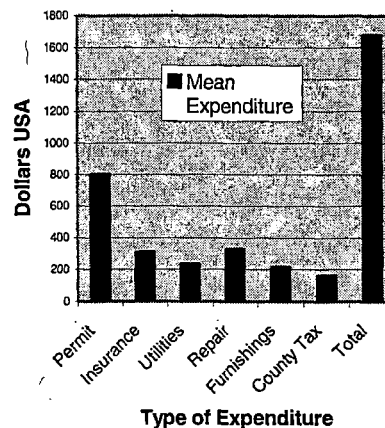
Table 2 Number of Days Used By Season (2002 - 2003)

In summary, cabin use is concentrated in the Summer and Fall when weather conditions are relatively mild and access is easiest. Most owners tend to use the cabins frequently for short visits throughout these two seasons.

Comparisons with cabin owners in Wisconsin (Stynes, Zheng, & Stewart, 1995) indicate that owner use of these privately owned homes was higher averaging 70 days per year. However, patterns of use are broadly similar, with summer being the most popular time for extended stays and short visits are the norm in Winter.

A key issue for many owners at the present time is the costs associated with owning a cabin, especially as there is a move by the Forest Service to charge lease fees equivalent to that levied on adjacent private lands. This has meant increases in rates for many owners in excess of what are felt to be justifiable on the basis of the restrictive leasehold conditions and the fixed income status of many of the retiree owners. Figure 2 shows that, at an average of \$US800, the Permit Fee is the most costly part of owning the cabin. All the other costs (insurance, utilities, repairs, furnishings and county taxes) are very similar, averaging between \$US150 - \$US200 per annum. The average cost of owning a cabin is just over \$US1600 a year.

Figure 2 Types of Expenditure on Cabins



Overall, the cabins in this part of Colorado appear to have remained relatively primitive with few of the modern conveniences that are common in cabins on private land in the same area. Use is generally spasmodic, short frequent summer-time stays being most prevalent type of use. Arguably, given the average income of \$US60,000 a year, costs of owning the residence seem reasonable but this view is not shared universally by all owners. Home and Cabin

The second part of the study examined the sorts of things that owners did when they stayed at the cabin and explored how the various projects were similar and different at home and at the cabin.

Personal Projects were elicited by asking contributors to list:

as many personal projects as you can that you are engaged in or thinking about at the present time. Don't just list formal projects, or important ones, but rather I would appreciate you developing a list of everyday activities or concerns that characterize your life (a) in the home and (b) at the recreational residence.

This process elicited a total of 94 cabin projects and 171 home-based projects. These included: 'put varnish on the cabin'; 'explore the Colorado Trail'; 'weed out closets and basement'; 'losing a few pounds'; 'manage transition when my wife retires'; 'become a better listener'; 'learn Spanish' (Figure 3). The individual projects were classified into twelve broad categories (Figure 4) to facilitate comparisons across contexts (home/cabin) and between different studies.

Figure 3 Cabin Project: Footbridge on a Small Creek



Cabin projects are dominated by maintenance, leisure, and building projects. On the other hand, leisure and to a lesser extent maintenance, volunteer work, family support, and personal development projects characterised the home (Figure 4). The range of projects in the latter context is also broader. Notable among the project types missing from the cabin context are fitness, family support, and volunteer projects.

Examination of the specific leisure type projects conducted at the cabin and the home demonstrated an emphasis on nature-based leisure activities (hiking and wildlife watching) in the former. These are also likely to contribute to fitness goals, a prominent project focus in the home context. In the home, artistic projects (painting, music and writing) prevail.

The number and variety of projects demonstrate that this group of mainly retired people lead quite active lives both at home and at the cabin. Overall, the cabin is a place where owners involve themselves in 'fixing up the residence' or enjoying nature through low-key activities. In the home, various leisure projects particularly of an artistic nature are the main focus, with volunteer work and caring for children, siblings, spouses and grandchildren also being important.

Perceptions of Life in the Forest

In-depth interviews with selected owners provided insights into the meanings associated with living at the cabins. This discussion will examine selected aspects only, in particular those that are linked to understanding

key aspects of the Personal Project Analysis and survey responses discussed earlier in this paper.

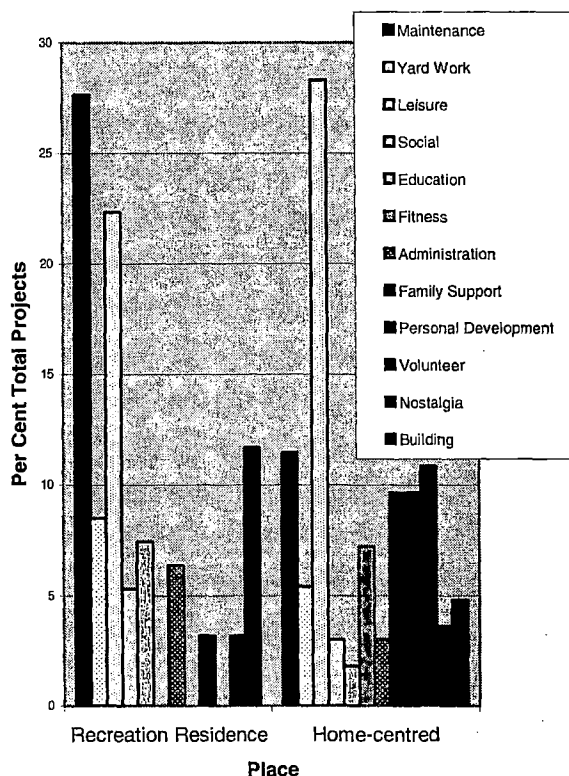


Figure 4 Personal Projects at the Cabins and at Home

Maintenance was the most often mentioned type of project at the cabin. One 70 year-old man who had spent most of his life as a stock-broker reminisced about working on the cabin some 40 years earlier:

SB: I was a helper... her father was the worker... in fact the worst job I ever had in my life . . . that window on the east side. That was a little bitty window. Those logs are like steel. You know they're a hundred years old... we had a handsaw. And it took me two or three days to do that... was the hardest work I've ever done in my life. You couldn't saw those logs. (S, Fort Collins).

This particular maintenance/building task is very special and recounted with obvious pride at overcoming the challenge and successfully completing the window.

Such personal stories about work down on the cabins that create a binding relationship and sense of ownership with the particular structure are evident in most of the transcripts.

One Denver couple talk about renovating their 'cabin' that they acquired about 13 years ago:

JP: put in a little bigger windows. I put in these nice windows and...

JP: put log cabin siding inside. It's so cute. It looks like a log cabin inside now.

PP: Yeah. 'Cause it's not actually log, it's like a siding stuff. . . . It was kinda just slapped up pretty much that cabin was. But . . . we painted it. I mean we've done a lot to it... but we sorta like to do that.

A female owner from Colorado Springs expressed how working on the 'cabin' made it her own:

RB: I got really attached to the cabin by doin' all the work to it... on the inside. That kinda became a part of me. I made curtains for every room in the cabin and . . . I don't know, I feel like my . . . my heart is there because of the things that I've put into it.

Owners also made a distinction between working on the home and at the 'cabin'.

PP: one thing nice is that... [at the] cabin you can do as much as you want and then leave. It's not like your house where you have to remodel your kitchen and live in it... We have to like wait for money for to do it. So it sort of... it gets done when the money's there and the time.

There is a sense of freedom to undertake tasks at the 'cabin' and a sense of accomplishment in doing something that he/she would find rather daunting at home. RB's husband expressed it this way:

MB: I mean, I can't saw . . . two sticks together and get 'em to fit right... but I can go up there [cabin] and do things and feel like I really accomplished some things, working with my hands. And 'cause I'm not a highly skilled person in that area but... I put in the... linoleum floor. I... you know, I put in the stove.

Working on and at the 'cabin' is a way of bonding with the place, of meeting and overcoming challenges, of practising skills and above all it is enjoyable and fun. This perception seems to be created, in part, through the less stringent requirements for quality and freedom from time constraints when working on the residence than on the home.

Chaplin (1999) in her study of British second-home owners in France considers this type of work at the second home as 'consuming work/productive leisure' interpreting it as a form of escape to a ludic space characterised by a seamless integration of work and leisure.

Home and the Cabin

Despite the relatively sparse use of the cabins amounting to between 10 and 20 days a year (Table 2), these cabins play a very important part in the lifestyles of the people involved. A major motive for the acquisition of second-homes has been theorized as 'escape' principally from the 'controlled, predictable, alienating world of their normal working lives' (Chaplin, 1999: p. 54) to an 'idealized rural way of life' (Butler & Hoggart, 1994: p. 128).

Contributors in this study expressed similar themes, for example:

RB: The city gets to ya and then after a while it's nice to get a break [at the cabin]... and then come back [to the city] and you're refreshed again,

However, a contrary view was expressed by others who viewed life at the 'cabin' as more of a complement to their life at home and who expressed appreciation of the contribution of each to their total lifestyle.

PP: we appreciate living here [home in Denver] after having a cabin. It's... I just can't see that other lifestyle. I can't see living in the mountains and driving to Denver everyday... I like the contrast of the two...

JP: on the other hand, there's a lot of really interesting things to do here [Denver] that we don't do up there [cabin]... Go to art galleries or go downtown...

Aspects of 'cabin' life such as:

- the contact with nature and wildlife:

MB: [the family] fish with flies and lures; so we return all the fish back. But they're, like the deer, kinda part of our family. We kinda look at the fish as part of our family and the hummingbirds... it's a very large extended family.

- getting in touch with a more simple lifestyle:

PP: you know, the thing that's great about our cabin is... is the simplicity of it;

- being part of a different, more rural community:

JP: as you exit the highway and turn to the cabin... There's a lumberyard right there... It's a funky little lumberyard. And it's really fun to buy stuff and then work on the cabin. Support the little community up there, you know. It's kinda neat;

- the lack of the accoutrements of modern technology

PR: I guess to me, part of the neat thing about it [cabin] is it is primitive. 'N when you go up there . . . you don't listen to radios, and you don't watch TV, you don't have any telephone.

all provide a contrast to and complement the full lifestyle (Figure 4) experienced at home. There is little sense of the time at the cabin as an escape. Rather, return to the city and its assets are equally appreciated. As JP expresses it:

I like it up there [cabin] because it's like... going back in time a little bit. But really it's more than that... it's a bridge between living in this urban environment that is...

unnatural... [and] nature that, you know, primitive man came out of. This is a lot closer to it.

Attachment to Place

Many of the owners have either built the residence themselves or inherited it from parents or grandparents. A strong feeling of attachment is evident in owners' comments:

RB: our dream wasn't just that we would like a place to relax, but it'd be a place where our children and our children's children could . . . build family relationships as well.

One couple sold the residence that had been handed down from the wife's family. Recently, they managed to re-lease it and commented thus:

JB: we just quit going up... and so we thought, well, we'll just sell it... and then we've always regretted it... I just never *ever* thought we'd get it back. It was just like it was meant to be.

Another couple talked of special family times:

JP: the aspens had turned. All of us, kids and everybody, we're just layin' in . . . layin' in a big bed of aspen leaves and just looking up and watching them come down on us... It's just unbelievable, through the yellow leaves and then how blue the skies are in Colorado.

This study suggests that attachment to place can be developed in four ways:

- it arises through a desire to fulfil a 'dream' of having such a place in the forest,
- as a result of a long association through family ties and childhood experiences,
- as a site memorialized through family 'traditions' and stories,
- by maintaining and building the residence.

Conclusions

This paper has addressed a unique type of second home; a cabin set in the forest on public land. Although this type of lease brings with it certain restrictions on the freedom of owners, at least for the Colorado owners involved in this study, the 'woody' nature of the residence is both appreciated and viewed as appropriate. Life in these cabins demonstrates broad similarities to that reported in other second-home studies (e.g., Chaplin, 1999; Williams and Kaltenborn, 1999) in that maintenance of the residence and its surrounds, contact with nature and wildlife, strong attachment to place and cross-generational continuity, a merging of work and leisure and celebration of a 'rustic minimalist' way of life are key aspects of this lifestyle.

Persistent themes in the literature on second homes are those of 'resistance' and 'escape'. However, neither of these themes is strongly represented in the narratives of cabin owners. They appear to construct life in the second home as complementary to their primary home lives which are equally rich and diverse, though different in ways that are important to the full realisation of their lifestyle. This may be due to the fact that the majority of these owners are retired and life at home is a mix of artistic leisure pursuits, voluntary community work and

family. Further analysis of a broader range of narratives will be required to resolve this particular issue.

References

- Bruner, J. 1990. *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buller, H. & Hoggart, K. 1994. *International Counterurbanization: British Migrants in Rural France*. Avebury: Aldershot.
- Chaplin, D. 1999. Consuming work/productive leisure: the consumption patterns of second home environments. *Leisure Studies* 18: 41-55.
- Cohen, S. & Taylor, L. 1992. *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life*. 2nd Edn. Routledge: London.
- Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Stanford University Press: Stanford..
- Gildor, D. 2002. Location, Location, Location: Forest Service Administration of the Recreation Residence Program. *Ecology Law Quarterly*, 28: 993-1034.
- Kaltenborn, B.P. 1997. Nature of Place Attachment: A Study Among Recreation Home owners in Southern Norway. *Leisure Sciences* 19: 175-189.
- Little, R.B. 1989. Personal projects analysis: Trivial pursuits, magnificent obsessions, and the search for coherence. In D. Buss, & N. Cantor (Eds.) *Personality Psychology: Recent trends and emerging directions* (pp. 15-31). New York, NY: Springer Verlag.
- Lux, L., Rose, J., Supernowicz, D., McIntyre, M., Connors, P., Brady, J., Cutts, J., Brandoff-Kerr, J., McNeil, S., & Lassall, S. 2001. Strategy for inventory and historic evaluation of recreation residence tracts in the national forests of California from 1906 to 1959. USDA Forest Service, Pacific South West Region, Vallejo, CA.
- McHugh, K.E. 2000. Inside, outside, upside down, backward, forward, round and round: A case for ethnographic studies of migration. *Progress in Human Geography* 24: 71-90.
- McHugh, K.E. & Mings, R.C. 1996. The circle of migration: attachment to place and aging. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86:530-550.
- McIntyre, N. 2000. *Baches, Setters and Seasonal Homes: The good life!* Paper presented at the 8th International Symposium on Society and Resource Management, Bellingham, WA: Western Washington University.
- Rojek, C. & Urry, J. (Eds.) 1997. *Touring Cultures: Transformations of travel and theory*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Ritzer, G. 1998. *The McDonaldization Thesis*. Sage Publications: London.
- Stynes, D., Zheng, J., & Stewart, S.I. 1995. Seasonal homes and natural resources: Patterns of use and impact in Michigan. Gen. Tech. Rep. NC-194. St Paul, MN: USDA Forest Service.
- Urry, J. 2000. *Sociology beyond societies: Mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London, UK: Routledge.

USA Today 2000. New wealth brings surge in two-home families. February 11, 2000: 1-2.

Williams, D.R. & Kaltenborn, B.P. 1999. Leisure Places and Modernity: The use and meaning of recreational cottages in Norway and the USA. In D. Crouch (Ed.), *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and geographical knowledge*. (pp.214-230). Routledge: London & New York.

Williams, D.R. & McIntyre, N. 2002. Where Heart and Home Reside: Changing Constructions of Place and Identity. In *Trends 2000: Shaping the Future. The 5th Outdoor Recreation and Tourism Trends Symposium* (pp. 392-403): Lansing MI: Department of Park, Recreation, and Tourism Resources, Michigan State University.

Acknowledgements: This study was supported by the US Forest and Lakehead University. Special thanks is also due to Drs. Joe Roggenbuck and Dan Williams, and Ellen Dawson-Witt and Carrie Williams for assistance with data collection.

Homes of the Heart: Second Homes, Place, and Amenity Migration

Norman McIntyre,

Department of Outdoor Recreation, Parks and Tourism,

Lakehead University, ON, Canada.

Introduction

As I write this, I look out over the blue, wind-ruffled waters of Amethyst Harbour, a sheltered inlet of Lake Superior in North Western Ontario, towards a ring of pine and birch-clad rocky islets. I am living in what is known in this part of Canada as a 'camp'. This 'camp' has been converted from its original seasonal status to all-year habitation. The only sign of others are a few cottages nestled among the trees around the fringes of the harbour. My community consists of some 65 lots about one-third of the inhabitants of which, like myself, are year-round residents. The 'campers' join us for the summer during July and August and for weekends in May, June and part of September.

I have lived here for a year and survived the harsh Canadian winter in the comfort of my well-insulated natural gas heated home. The rough hewn logs of the original one-room cabin built in the 1940's are still discernable and form the main living room around which has been added, at various times, a kitchen, a bathroom and two bedrooms. The lean-to, which once adorned the front of the camp overlooking the harbour is now insulated and fully enclosed, providing a south-facing, sunny, and warm haven on a cold spring day. It is May, but winter has been reluctant to leave and the gulls currently basking in the sunshine were barely 10 days ago floating around on the last ice floes in the harbor.

Each day I commute on the Trans-Canada Highway to the University where I work, a distance of about 45 km. On a good day, without snow or ice, it takes me about 25 minutes in my imported Japanese all-wheel-drive vehicle. Born in Scotland, I moved to Canada last year from New Zealand and prior to that move, I lived in Australia, Africa and England and over the years, for periods of up to nine months, I have stayed in Japan, the USA and Scandinavia. Earlier today, I talked on the telephone to my partner who is visiting family in Germany, e-mailed a colleague in New Zealand, electronically transferred money to my son's bank account in Australia where he is studying at

University and checked the weather forecast on my satellite TV receiver. My laptop rests on the same table as a bowl of fruit containing pears from Ontario, apples from British Columbia, kiwi fruit from Chile and avocados from California.

This brief survey of my life at the 'camp' indicates that, despite its relative isolation in nature, it, like most homes in the industrialized world, lies at the intersection of a global network of information, product and people flows. It is, in microcosm, an example of a life-world characterized by mobility. People, products, and information circulate freely around the world problematizing concepts of national boundaries, home, dwelling, stasis, structure and social order (Urry, 2000). As a result, every aspect of our lives is enmeshed:

...in a global society. It is not a unitary society, nor is it an ideological community... but it is a single power network. Shock waves reverberate around it, casting down empires, transporting massive quantities of people, materials and messages, and finally, threatening the ecosystem and atmosphere of the planet (Mann, 1993: 11).

This volume is fundamentally about globalization and its particular consequence mobility in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world.

Mobility

Urry (2000) suggested that 'mobility' has always been a 'core business' of sociology but that traditionally it has been rather narrowly defined in a metaphoric sense as 'social' mobility, viewed as the differential rates of upwards and downwards movements of people on the basis of income, occupation and education. In seeking a new agenda for sociology, he argued that it is essential to broaden the concept of mobility beyond this narrow conceptualization to encompass spatial and temporal mobilities. These are arguably of more significance in a globalized world where national boundaries are becoming increasingly porous and traditional social stratification less relevant. A renewed interest in the explanatory power and impact of mobility has arisen in the face of major changes in the economic and social conditions affecting people around the globe. These changes in contemporary society include more frequent job and career changes, increased international labor migration, an increase in the proportion of healthy retirees with both the means and inclination to travel, a shift in fundamental values towards environmentalism and nostalgia for natural landscapes and rustic lifestyles, and

technological advances in transport and communication (Williams & Hall, 2000). All these influences have combined to make mobility a reality for all and a necessity for some.

Mobility is viewed as the movement of "*peoples, objects, images, information and wastes*" (Urry, 2000:1) within and across the boundaries of national societies. At another level it is the means by which people

optimize access to their network of activities in various life domains: work, leisure, health, education, family etc. (Bell & Ward, 2000:XX).

Mobility thus creates a world, characterized by complex networks and flows of people and objects at various levels of persistence in time. While recognizing the integrated, synergistic nature of these diverse mobilities, this volume will focus on the movement of people termed "corporeal mobility" (Urry, 2000) or migration.

Migration

Customarily, migration has been rather narrowly conceptualized as '*the "relatively permanent" change of address or abode*' (Roseman, 1992:33). This may well be because data on permanent migration are readily available through Census questions on place of current and previous residence and sophisticated analytical tools have been developed to test and refine theory using these data. By contrast, data on temporary migration tend to be small scale and tied to particular groups or locales (e.g., McHugh, Hogan & Happel, 1995; Williams *et al.*, 2000). Roseman (1992) has argued that this emphasis has led to a failure to recognize the increasing importance of temporary or cyclical migration.

Examples of temporary migration include commuting, career and life cycle migration, second-home dwelling, and retiree migration. This type of migration differs in significant ways from permanent migration in that it varies in duration, is often repetitive and demonstrates large seasonal variation. (Bell & Ward, 2000: Table 1.) Limited data from the Australian Census (Bell & Ward, 2000) indicate that although permanent migration rates have remained relatively stable over the past two decades, temporary migration rates have almost doubled in the same time period. This suggests that changes in Australian society over the last two decades have differentially affected permanent and temporary migration. Notable among these are the growth in popularity and accessibility of sun-belt destinations, long-distance commuting, and the expansion of seasonal work

opportunities in rural and coastal areas (Bell & Ward, 2000). It is very likely that these observations are not confined to Australia but are similar throughout the developed world.

Traditionally, change of usual residence was seen as the action of rational actors attempting to maximize their economic position. However, the reversal of the age-old rural-urban migration in the late 60's and early 70's brought into question the singularity or even the dominance of economic motives and introduced a broader variety of possible reasons, including those related to quality of life concerns (Jobes, Stinner & Wardwell, 1992). More recently, Williams and Hall (2001) suggested that motives for temporary migration might be considered as either *production* or *consumption related*. The former being motivated by making some sort of economic contribution at the destination (e.g., migrant work) and the latter for the reason of accessing some form of amenity, good or service (e.g., second-home ownership).

An examination of the 'reasons' for temporary moves from Australian Census data indicated that more than 70 per cent of all such moves were consumption related. Of these, almost two-thirds (61%) were motivated by pleasure (visits to friends and relatives and holidays in second-homes or holiday units) (Bell & Ward, 2000). Similarly, Williams and Hall (2000: XX), in summarizing a number of studies on second-home owners, noted that "*a desire.. to satisfy life-style choices often related to recreation and leisure amenity values, including amenity landscapes*" was a major motivation for the migration to rural areas, be it temporary or permanent. Although people move on a temporary basis for a variety of reasons, these data suggest that a search for leisure experiences and amenity values is a major motivator of such moves.

Mobility, Amenity Migration, and Second-homes.

Frequent moves of short duration between home and one or more destinations for work or pleasure are a fact of life for a significant majority of people today. Both the need and desire for such mobility appear to be on the increase. It is also evident that the various influences that have facilitated and necessitated such movements are becoming more and more pervasive. Amenity migration motivated by the consumption of landscape and leisure opportunities explains the majority of such movements. This volume explores one

aspect of this phenomenon, the movement of people to second-homes in areas of high amenity value.

Through their respective studies, contributors are trying to understand why such homes are becoming increasingly popular throughout the industrialized world and to explore the economic, political and environmental implications of this aspect of mobility for host communities and landscapes.

The Nature of Second-homes

Definition of second-homes is difficult because they do not form a discrete class of accommodation but rather comprise an arbitrarily defined continuum variously differentiated on the basis of occupancy, ownership, function, and the character of the dwelling.

Key factors, common to most definitions, are the occasional and secondary nature of the residence. Such a definition is exemplified by that of Coppock (1977) who defined a second-home as "*a property owned or rented on a long lease as the occasional residence of a household that usually lives elsewhere*" (p. 3, after Downing & Dower, 1973). This base definition is expanded somewhat in the decennial census in the USA, which identifies second-homes as the proportion of the housing stock in the USA that is not occupied as a primary residence but rather is maintained for "seasonal, recreational or occasional use". Such definitions enable the numbers of second-homes, their distribution, and their role as part of the changing face of real estate in the USA to be estimated. For example, Census 2000 data indicated that second-homes as defined above comprised 3.1 per cent of the total housing stock in the USA, up by 1.2 million homes since 1980, and that they are most numerous in the states of Florida, California, New York and Michigan. Further, these data also allow international comparisons in second-home ownership. For example, approximately 2 per cent of all households in the UK own second-homes (CML Research, 2000). This compares with an estimated 6 per cent in the USA (Home Accents Today, 2002) and 14 per cent in Sweden, claimed to be among the highest per capita ownership in the world (Pettersson, 1999).

At one extreme, second-homes are represented by the mobile home, typical of the sunbird communities of Arizona (McHugh, this volume) and at the other, the palatial villas of the Marbella coast of Spain, and playground of the rich and famous. In between

are the log cabins set in the US National Forests (Lux, this volume), the camps in the Canadian north woods, the bach by the beach in New Zealand (McIntyre, this volume), and the chalet gardens of European cities.

Second-homes are usually located in amenity-rich regions such as mountains, lakeshores, coastlines and forests. Climate (e.g., the lure of warmer temperatures or snow for skiing) is also a key attraction. Traditionally, most second-homes are situated less than a day's drive from the city or town of their owners and therefore fall within the weekend leisure space of the urban sphere (Aronsson, 1989). However, more and more the main attractions of climate and geography, combined with cheap air travel and available housing stock in de-populated rural areas, are fueling an extension in the vacation range of second-home acquisition. In Europe, this trend has resulted in an increasing trans-border purchase of second-homes in the warmer areas of France, Italy, and Spain and in the less populous, more natural, periphery in Scotland, Ireland, Norway and Sweden.

This brief review of the characteristics of second-homes barely scratches the surface of the diverse manifestations and worldwide participation in this phenomenon. However, it is not the purpose of this volume to document the diversity, nature, and distribution of second homes or indeed to define them. Rather, the emphasis is on understanding second-home use and the impacts both positive and negative of these homes on individuals, host communities and landscapes.

Contemporary Issues in Second-home Use

In the 1970's there was a high interest in academic second-home research, possibly coincident with the recognition of second-home ownership as a mature social phenomenon in, for example, England, Scandinavia and Canada (Muller, 2001a; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000). Research examined the roots of second home living (e.g., Bielkus, 1977), and the patterns (e.g., Wolfe, 1977) and spread of second home development (e.g., Burby III, Donnelly & Weiss, 1972). However, interest waned in the 1980's and it was not until the early 90's, as second-home ownership became more widespread and economic and environmental concerns increased, that interest in this area

of research rekindled. From the 1990's onwards, the focus has shifted to explore the functions and meanings of second homes (Williams & McIntyre, 2002; Williams & Kaltenborn, 1999; Jarlov, 1999; Kaltenborn, 1997; Halseth and Rosenberg, 1995); second homes in the context of national and international tourism, amenity, and consumption (Muller, 2001b; Pettersson, 1999; Chaplin, 1999; Buller & Hoggart, 1994); and economic and environmental impacts of second homes (Stynes, Zheng, & Stewart, 1999; Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000).

Coppock (1977) in the title of his book *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing* appropriately summed up the ambivalence associated with second home development in rural communities. Some have argued (e.g., Flognfeldt, 2002; Stynes, Zheng & Stewart, 1997) that, as with tourist/host relationships in general, second-home development can bring economic benefits to rural communities. Others (e.g., DTLR, 2001) view these same developments as straining infrastructure and negatively impacting both the availability and cost of local housing, the environment, and local amenity. However, opinion differs as to the whether second home development is a symptom or a cause of the stresses that are evident in housing supply in such rural communities. For example, Bollom (1978) takes the view that:

It is clearly difficult to isolate second home ownership as a variable because of the other agents of social change which will be operating, but if we accept the view that, rather than being the cause or the symptom, second home ownership is more an added complication of social and economic decline (p.121).

A key aspect of this controversy is the observation that the effects of second home development are variable in both space and time. Muller (2001a) in a study on second homes in Sweden has shown that there is little evidence of second-home buyers displacing residents in either the northern areas of Sweden or in southern Sweden. This is possibly due to the observation that foreign buyers, particularly Germans, lean more towards abandoned homes in the north that are '*located outside the very small villages, and lie secluded in the woods*' (Pettersson, 1999: 16) and "*remote properties in secluded localities within the forests*" in the south (Muller, 2001a:11), both of which are relatively unattractive to the Swedish market. However, the situation is less clear in the immediate environs of Stockholm where the Swedish National Development Agency has responded

to the perceived threat of displacement of traditional owners by proposing the implementation of residency requirements. Gallent and Tewdwr-Jones (2000) have suggested that environmental (e.g., visual and pollution) and socio-economic (e.g., housing costs) concerns arise only when the second home market reaches maturity. At this point, when all the 'surplus housing' is used up, the market turns to mainstream housing or purpose-built developments to satisfy continuing demand. They argue that this situation was reached in by the mid 60's in Sweden and in England by the early 70's. However, relatively new markets such as those in rural France have not, as yet, reached the stage of maturity.

Notwithstanding the ambivalence evident in the academic debate, there is a persistent and growing debate evident in the media on the subject of second home purchase and its negative impacts on affordable housing in rural areas. Governments in some areas have responded with a variety of measures to control or regulate the residence and taxation requirements governing second home use. For example, a British Government Report *Rural Economies* (1999) has advocated a ban on second-home purchases in popular areas of rural England, fearing that large parts of rural England will become the near-exclusive preserve of the affluent (Hetherington, 1999). Subsequently, a Rural White Paper entitled *Our Countryside: The Future - A Fair Deal for Rural England* (2002) proposed that local authorities in England would be given discretion to charge the full council tax on second-homes rather than the 50 per cent discount that they are required to apply currently. This proposal, estimated to raise an extra \$US 100m per year for local councils (The Rural Housing Trust, 2002 quoted in Hetherington, 2002) was to be channeled into the provision of affordable housing. Although this proposal has provoked much discussion in the media, it has generally won broad support from the public and Members of Parliament (Shaw, 2002).

A similar situation is evident in the USA, particularly exemplified by the increasing shortage of affordable housing for employees in the generally low-paid service sector in amenity towns such as Sedona, Arizona (Gober, McHugh, & Leclerc, 1993) where a substantial part of the growth in housing is related to in-migration and second home development. As reported in *The Arizona Republic*, second-home development is seen as a key factor in the 10 per cent rise in median house price in 2000 in Flagstaff, Arizona.

(Shaffer, 2000). However, rather than government intervention to address the issue, the response has been the development of a new breed of '*job-rich but housing-poor*' rural, long-distance commuters (Gober, McHugh, & Leclerc, 1993).

The increasing trend of owners to convert seasonal second-homes to all-year occupancy as retirement approaches is causing concern for local councils in North Western Ontario, Canada (Dilley, this volume). Marsh (this volume) also raises the issue of inappropriate second-home development, which may adversely affect the identity, character and setting of small towns, villages or regions in the southern part of this same province. The traditional leniency in regard to compliance with building regulations in second homes is also fast disappearing, as real estate values in amenity areas increase. For example, second homes (baches) in coastal communities in New Zealand are increasingly required to comply with local council building codes in regard to construction materials and sanitary facilities where previously temporary occupation had allowed considerable flexibility in compliance (McIntyre, this volume).

Host/second-home owner conflicts are not restricted to planning and taxation issues but spill over into political and resource use issues as well. Involvement in local political issues by highly educated, affluent and politically astute seasonal residents is not uncommon where development (e.g. tourist infrastructure) or use of local resources (e.g. beaches) interferes with notions of countryside preservation or privileged access (McIntyre, this volume; Smith & Krannich, 2000).

Bringing it all together

This book investigates second homes, or, as we have chosen to call them, "Homes of the Heart." For modern people, the meanings of home, work, leisure, and tourism are mutually defining and it is evident that the question of where one lives is not simply a matter of residential geography. It is also a matter of emotional geography. Where does one's heart, one's identity, reside? Where is one's emotional home? For many, it seems that the second home plays this role, sustaining tradition, stability, and family bonding in a way that the primary home has lost the ability to do.

In the past, places have been viewed as bounded and self-contained, static, and imbued with common meanings. All this has changed in a world characterized increasingly by global networks of information, product, and people flows. Under these

influences, places in the modern world are more and more subject to constant and rapid change, which often results in individuals and/or social groups developing widely differing and even conflicting attitudes about the character and direction of changes to places that are important to them (Williams, this volume). Host communities for second homes are no exception to these processes, which raise issues associated with identity and character of settlements and landscapes, as well as notions of authenticity and ultimately of sustainability (Gustaffson, this volume). What is the character/identity of the place? What should be sustained? Who should decide?

This book looks at the role of second homes in the lives of people in the modern world and the effects of the increased popularity and numbers of such homes on the host communities and landscapes. Second-home use is explored not only through the experiences of the individuals who use them but also in the broader contexts of the changing nature of the primary home, an increasingly mobile society, and issues concerning identity. The sub-themes of leisure and tourism in nature (amenity) and attachment to and identity with place are woven together with second home use to create the central theme of "Homes of the Heart" (See Figure 1). Fundamentally, we are using second home use, as a lens through which we examine how people are managing the increasing complexity of modern living.

These broad contexts as they relate to second homes are developed in the first section of the book. Subsequent sections explore case studies that focus on various aspects of second-home use within the broad context provided by this first section.

References

- Aronsson, L. (1989). Turism och local utveckling: en turism-geografisk studie. (Tourism and local development: a tourism-geography study). *Meddelanden fran Goteborg universitets geografiska institutioner B79, Goteborg*.
- Bell, M., & Ward, G. (2000). Comparing temporary mobility with permanent migration. *Tourism Geographies* 2:87-107.
- Bielkus, C.L. (1977). Second homes in Scandinavia. In J.T. Coppock, (Ed.). *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* (pp.35-47). Oxford: Pergammon.
- Bollom, C. (1978). *Attitudes and Second Homes in Rural Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Buller, H. & Hoggart, K. 1994. *International Countérrurbanization: British Migrants in Rural France*. Avebury: Aldershot.

- Burby III, R.J. Donnelly, T.G. & Weiss, S.F. (1972). Vacation home location: a model for simulating the residential development of rural recreation areas. *Regional Studies*, 6: 421-439.
- Chaplin, D. (1999). Consuming work/productive leisure: the consumption patterns of second home environments. *Leisure Studies* 18: 41-55.
- CML Research (2000). Second Homes: A Market Report. CML Research Report: 31 http://www.cml.org.uk/servlet/dycon/zt-cml/cml/live/en/cml/pdf_pub_misc_31.pdf
- Coppock, J.T. (1977). *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* Oxford: Pergamon.
- Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions (2000). *Council Tax*. London: DTLR.
- Downing, P., & Dower, M. (1973). *Second Homes in England and Wales*. Countryside Commission, HMSO: London
- Flognfeldt, T. (2002). Second-Home Ownership: A Sustainable Semi-Migration. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.): *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (pp.187-203). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Gallent, N. & Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2000). *Rural Second Homes in Europe: Examining housing supply and planning control*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Gober, P. McHugh, K.E., & Leclerc, D. (1993). Job-Rich but Housing-Poor: The Dilemma of a Western Amenity Town. *Professional Geographer*, 45:12-20.
- Halseth, G. and Rosenburg, M.W. (1995). Cottages in an urban field. *Professional Geographer*. 47: 148-159.
- Hetherington, P. (2002). Second homes may incur full council tax. Retrieved 13 June 2002. <http://society.guardian.co.uk/localgovfinance/story/0,1205,736411,00.html>
- Hetherington, P. (1999). Second homes ban urged in popular country areas. Retrieved 11 December, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/country/article/0,2763,191437,00.html>.
- Home Accents Today, 2002
- Jarlov, L. (1999). Leisure lots and summer cottages as places for people's creative work. In D. Crouch (Ed.) *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge* (pp.231-237). London: Routledge.
- Jobs, W.F. Stinner, & J.M. Wardwell (Eds.). *Community, Society, and Migration*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Kaltenborn, B.P. (1997). Nature of place attachment: a study among recreation owners in Southern Norway. *Leisure Sciences*, 9: 175-189.
- Mann, M. (1993). *The Sources of Social Power*, Vol 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McHugh, K. E., Hogan, T.D., & Happel, S.K. (1995). Multiple Residence and Cyclical Migration: A Life Course Perspective. *Professional Geographer* 47: 251-267.
- Muller, D.K. (2001a). Second Homes in Sweden: Patterns and Issues. Paper prepared for the 10th Nordic Symposium in Tourism Research, 18-21 October 2001, Vaasa, Finland.
- Muller, D.K. (2001b). German second home development in Sweden. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.) *Tourism & Migration: New Relationships between production and consumption* (pp. 169-185). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Pettersson, R. (1999). Foreign Second Home Purchases: The Case of Northern Sweden, 1990-1996. Working Paper No. 14:1999. Umea University, Sweden: Centre for Regional Studies.

- Roseman, C.C. (1992). Cyclical and polygonal migration in a western context. In P.C. Jobes, W.F. Stinner, & J.M. Wardwell (Eds.). *Community, Society, and Migration*. (pp.33-45) Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Shaffer, M. (2002). High housing costs crimp Flagstaff's growth. Retrieved 21 October. <http://www.arizonarepublic.com/news/articles/1021flagstaffhomes21.html>
- Shaw, S. (2000). A taxing blow for second homes. Retrieved 15 November 2000 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/money/main.jhtml?xml=/money/2000/11/15/cmtwo15.xml>
- Smith, M.D., & Krannich, R.S. (2000). Cultural clash revisited: Newcomers and longer-term residents; Attitudes toward land use, development, and environmental issues in rural communities in the Rocky Mountain West. *Rural Sociology* 65: 396-421.
- Stynes, D.J., Zheng, J.J., & Stewart, S.I. (1999). *Seasonal Homes and Natural resources: Patterns of Use and Impact in Michigan*. USDA General Technical Report NC-194: St Paul, MN.
- Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology Beyond Societies: mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, A.M., King R., Warnes A., & Patterson, G. (2000). Tourism and international retirement migration: new forms of an old relationship in southern Europe. *Tourism Geographies* 2: 28-49.
- Williams, A.M., & Hall, M.C. (2001). Tourism, migration, circulation and mobility: the contingencies of time and place. In C.M. Hall & A.M. Williams (Eds.): *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption*. (pp.1-52). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Williams, A.M. & Hall, M.C. (2000) Tourism and migration: new relationships between production and consumption. *Tourism Geographies* 2: 5-27.
- Williams, D.R. & Kaltenborn, B.P. (1999). Leisure places and modernity: The use and meaning of recreational cottages in Norway and the USA. In D. Crouch (Ed.) *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge* (pp.214-230). London: Routledge.
- Williams, D.R. & McIntyre, N. (2001). Where heart and home reside: Changing constructions of home and identity. In: *Trends 2000: Shaping the Future*, Sept. 17-20, 2000 (pp.392-403). Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Dept. of Park, Recreation & Tourism Resources.
- Wolfe, R.I. (1977). Summer cottages in Ontario: purpose-built for an inessential purpose. In J.T. Coppock, (Ed.). *Second Homes: Curse or Blessing?* (pp.17-34). Oxford: Pergamon.

Figure 1: Homes of the Heart: A Conceptual Framework

